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## Near East/South Asia Report

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5 April 1984

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## ARMENIAN AFFAIRS

### ARMENIAN PARTY CALLS UPON LEBANESE COMMUNITIES TO HELP SOLVE CRISIS

Beirut AZTAG in Armenian 14 Feb 84 p 1

[Text] The ARF Central Committee of Lebanon yesterday published the following communique, copies of which were handed to the Lebanese press and the news agencies:

The precipitous course of events in Lebanon has brought the country to the brink of ruin and the very existence of Lebanon as a sovereign state is at stake. Consequently, we feel that we must inform Lebanese public opinion, once again, of our convictions.

The crisis in Lebanon has many facets. There are political causes, regional as well as international, but before these can be cleared up, it is at least necessary to lessen Lebanon's internal contradictions. These contradictions have played a vital role in the birth of the crisis and they have fostered a spirit of intolerance that has progressively set in and deepened among a certain number of Lebanese communities and political organizations.

Initiatives aiming at military solutions could not and did not attain any final results. On the other hand, political solutions of the crisis have so far been superficial and have aimed at freezing a state of affairs in favor of this or that faction brought about by the fighting.

All through the 9 years of the crisis, the ARF Central Committee of Lebanon has not departed from the principles it initially adopted and these principles are valid today, more than ever.

We believe that dialogue between all the communities and political currents should be the only means of solving Lebanon's internal problems, a dialogue based on reciprocal concessions.

The basic aim of a political agreement should remain the safeguarding of the existence and integrity of Lebanon as well as the coexistence and cooperation of its communities. The structure of the communal equilibrium, so uniquely Lebanese, must be preserved, although allowing for certain reforms of the administrative machinery, with corresponding decentralization. Such a decentralization in no way contradicts the establishment of a strong central authority which will always be able to thwart any attempt at partitioning the country.

The strengthening and reforming of the national army and of the internal security force, both of which constitute the backbone of national union and enjoy the confidence of all the Lebanese, are also vital in assuring the country's internal stability and its external security.

In order to make Lebanon a model of cultural, communal and ethnic plurality, the democratic and parliamentary regime must be preserved to insure total freedom of thought and expression and to lead to social and economic reforms worthy of a modern state.

Considering its stand during the Lebanese crisis, as well as its enduring faith in the Lebanese structures and its insistence on solving problems only through dialogue, the Armenian community, seventh largest in Lebanon, has an active role to play in establishing a dialogue and the preliminary steps leading to it, in order to create an atmosphere of mutual understanding.

Hence, we call upon all communities and factions in Lebanon: let us gather around a conference table in Geneva or elsewhere and find common denominators acceptable to all. At this stage of the national dialogue, we intend to present our own view of a future Lebanon and the practical steps for its realization.

ARF Central Committee  
of Lebanon

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PRESIDENT BENDJEDID ADDRESSES NATIONAL DEVELOPMENT CONFERENCE

Algiers EL MOUDJAHID in French 1 Mar 84 p 3

[29 February speech by President Chadli Bendjedid at closing session of National Development Conference]

[Text] Palace of Nations (APS)--At the closing session of the National Development Conference at the Palace of Nations yesterday afternoon, President Chadli Bendjedid, secretary general of the FLN Party, delivered the following address:

Brothers and sisters:

We deem this meeting to be of great importance compared with those of preceding years and for many reasons: first of all, because it is being held during the last year of the Five-Year Plan and on the eve of the drafting of the next plan.

In the light of the reports read to us yesterday and today and without underestimating the efforts made by our leaders, rank-and-file members and at other levels, we can express our satisfaction with the general results achieved. This is not complacency, but reality. If we recognize the efforts made by our cadres at different levels, it does not in any way mean that we have attained the objectives we are pursuing. It is true, in fact, that many problems remain to be solved and demand more efforts, mobilization and a rational exploitation of the country's potential.

In addition, we must note on this subject that while potential does exist, we must unfortunately recognize that it is not being properly exploited and for various reasons that I mentioned at the opening session of this conference.

In fact, sclerotic ways of thinking have engendered a lack of coordination, consultation and cohesion, which in turn has negative effects on the rational use of our national means.

Efforts have definitely been made to improve coordination, but in this connection, a great deal remains to be done, from top to bottom.

## Rationally Using Potential

There is also another fundamental aspect on which I would particularly like to dwell. This is the planning and programming of all activities of our enterprises. On various occasions, I have emphasized the vast importance of this work. And yet, there are still gaps.

In a socialist country, everything is based on scientific planning, which takes all factors into account, based on our situation, structures and our material and human means. Some of our economic undertakings lack planning and programming. They must correct this flaw for the simple reason that this is a sensitive, vital issue to which we must devote the required attention. For example, we have observed that our imports are anachronistic and not used in a rational manner.

Along the same line of ideas, planning must also apply to the fields of training, education and advanced education. I suppose that some of our watchwords have not yet been well assimilated, for in applying the principle of the democratization of education, a principle in which we deeply believe, it does not mean that we should open the doors to unorganized education. The government, which plans all its development, must also plan the training of the necessary upper-level personnel in keeping with the objectives set forth until their suitable distribution can be ensured in keeping with needs at different levels and in all the economic, social and cultural structures.

The lack of planning in training and education, particularly with respect to specialization, could in the long run engender serious problems such as unemployment among intellectuals of the upcoming generation. We would thus be providing education and training for our youth without thereby guaranteeing jobs.

That is why I emphasize the need to adapt training and education to our needs for intermediate- and higher-level personnel.

I wanted to underline this matter because it is one of the main concerns of the political leadership.

Material and human potential exists and it is therefore up to us to use them rationally, in keeping with strict, coordinated planning.

As I have emphasized in the past, we must guide our youth, whose training at home and abroad requires large sums of money. They must be led toward fields of action and not put to work in offices, thus wasting their energies,

Along the same line of ideas, I also wish to point out the phenomenon of waste. Large quantities of materials such as engines and machinery are actually used only two or three months and then abandoned. That is why I have instructed the Ministry of Heavy Industry to halt the importation of this type of equipment, which is now immobilized because of a lack of maintenance, and prevent facile solutions consisting of importing new equipment, the source of considerable expenditures of foreign currency.

## True Meaning of Management

There is also another phenomenon that tends to appeal to foreign companies to carry out projects and import complex technology. In this connection, I should like to emphasize the need to give preference to national enterprises, even if the latter charge prices for projects that are 50 percent higher than those proposed by foreign enterprises. In this way we can encourage our management personnel and workers, pay for our operations in dinars and thus economize on foreign exchange.

No one ignores the fact that we live in a hostile world and in a difficult international situation marked by an acute economic crisis. While human beings are starving to death in Africa and elsewhere in countries of the Third World, others under other skies only get richer.

To rely on oneself therefore means relying on Algerian personnel, Algerian enterprises.

We owe it to ourselves to get rid of the mentality consisting of underestimating Algerian personnel, for this habit may give them an inferiority complex.

Having proved their ability and competence, national cadres therefore deserve that we "think Algerian," that we trust our people and encourage the Algerian worker in the employment field.

This is the real meaning of Algerianization.

It is true that conclusive results have been achieved in this field because we have reduced the number of foreign technical assistants in our enterprises and replaced them with nationals. However, it is our duty to persevere in this direction with all the required rigor, especially since the country has to rely on its sons, their spirit of sacrifice and their patriotism.

Our country has enormous human energies that we have not made the most of. These are young people in the National Service to whom we must not entrust the completion of mining projects. This new generation must pay the tribute of its sweat in order to mark history with its struggle, just as the past generation marked history with the national liberation struggle, paying the tribute of blood.

This same generation is willing to sacrifice, but has not always had an adequate framework for expressing itself fully. That is why it is essential that we orient it toward the completion of major projects in order to reduce the expenditures caused by such projects for the Treasury when we go abroad.

Young people in the national service have in fact proved themselves in this field by completing major projects with modest means. This brings me to the question of management. On numerous occasions, I have had cause to emphasize the need to master management and apply the watchword "work and strictness" in our daily actions.

There is a certain number of enterprises in the agricultural and industrial sectors and others that have become a burden for the government and society because of their failure in meeting the objectives assigned to them. This is a situation that we cannot accept. The welfare of the revolution is at stake and we must take a clear position on this matter.

We have observed that when we put the right man in the right place, we can achieve positive results, in keeping with our aspirations. That is why it is our duty to respect that principle, while giving strictness in management its true meaning.

With respect to the debts of certain wilayas [governorates], a matter that came up at this conference, I believe that they result from those wilayas' inclusion of a number of projects not in proportion to the amount of credits allocated for their completion in the periods stated.

This situation must be cleared up and it is up to planning and finance officials to proceed to clear up those debts in order to start out afresh on a sound, correct basis.

In addition, I would like to say that when we call for the programming and planning of activities, that does not mean a hastening to include projects without considering the specific possibilities of their completion.

Under certain circumstances, our financial situation could force us to put off projects that are not urgent and to withdraw them temporarily. Local authorities must assume their responsibilities in this area instead of going into debt and demonstrate courage in making imperative decisions.

Within this context, I would like to recall the remarks that I have already made, emphasizing the need to avoid the inclusion of projects in our development plans if they are then simply to be left on the list of those remaining to be completed.

This is a tendency harmful to effective planning that must be fought.

#### Self-Sufficiency

Another subject I would like to take up here is that of agriculture and water projects, vital, strategic sectors.

I have several times emphasized the fact that the land is the permanent resource of the future to which we must have recourse to solve our problems.

You well know that we now live in a world in which everything is permitted. Political pressure is placed on Third World countries and we cannot expose ourselves to pressure to go back on our political positions.

If we constantly speak of our national independence in its political and economic sense, we understand that this is an immutable principle in which we believe and to which we are attached.

Our domestic situation commands our foreign policy. Therefore, if our domestic situation is solid, we shall be protected from all outside pressure. Consequently, it is necessary to promote and relaunch the agricultural and water projects sector. It is up to governorate officials to take action in this framework, building the hill dams and medium-scale water projects and reviving the sector, which does not necessarily imply the mobilization of major means.

Bringing up the agricultural sector brings me to emphasize the need to pay more attention to the small peasant. Statistics have shown that the latter contributes some 60 percent of national production. Thus, to support this category of workers cannot constitute a danger, since they are the allies of the revolution.

Following the completion of the operations of the agrarian revolution, the small peasant now has the right to ask the government for the attention he deserves, for he participates actively in the national development effort and relieves the state of many burdens. That is why I am asking officials at all levels to pay the proper attention and encourage him to increase his production. We have noticed that the distribution of small transport vehicles has invigorated our markets and substantially improved supplies over previous years.

Within the same context, I am asking financial institutions, especially the Agricultural and Rural Development Bank (BADR), to simplify procedures for the benefit of these small farmers so as to facilitate their tasks.

In that sense, I am also asking officials of the different enterprises to work in a spirit of coordination and cohesion to eliminate marginal problems so that we may devote ourselves to essential matters related to national development.

In this connection, I would like to emphasize the importance of the circulation of information among the different enterprises, as well as the intensification of contacts.

We have in fact noted that certain enterprises have a surplus of products and materials, while others are lacking them. Whence the importance of economic information. Many citizens in most cases ignore the very existence of national products, which, thanks to the efforts of officials and workers in the units to improve quality, can compete with foreign products.

Of course, we have not yet reached the stage of self-sufficiency, but we shall certainly do so with the combined efforts of everyone.

### Secular History

Two other sectors attract our attention: the cultural and social, given the fact that they complement one another. Any action taken in this field must take into account the fact that our society is a socialist society in the Algerian sense of the word, a society attached to its component parts and principles. Promotion of the cultural sector is one of our major concerns. We have dealt with the question of our cultural identity categorically and we have spoken frankly and free of any pressure of the history of our people, for we believe in it deeply.

The eminent Shaykh El Ghazali, respected by the Algerian people and the entire Muslim world, has said: "I am an Egyptian, a descendant of the Pharaohs, but Islam Arabized me." We are a nation with a civilization, a history, and our language is Arabic because we are part of Islam. However, this must not prevent us from making our origins known so that our children will know their history.

We must be proud of our origins because our history is secular and goes back some 25 centuries.

To teach our history to the coming generations, confer more strength on them and consolidate attachment to their authenticity and Arabic-Islamic civilization of which we are an integral part and to whose edification we have largely contributed is our duty. That is why I dwell on the importance that must be given to culture.

In looking at the figures on achievements in this sector, I have noted that they differ from one wilaya to another. Cultural centers have indeed been set up throughout the national territory, but these establishments are still suffering from the lack of organizers and competent administrators, given the recent creation of certain ministries, including the Ministry of Culture.

That is why I am asking the two ministries concerned by the sectors of youth and culture to mobilize all energies and pay more attention to the training and education of a youth imbued with the Algerian spirit and to exploit the existing possibilities.

More than ever, we now owe it to ourselves to concentrate our interest on man, because he alone represents the only inexhaustible resource.

Everyone knows the trust that has been placed in us by our members and the citizens in general at the Fifth Congress of the National Liberation Front Party and the presidential election. We esteem that trust and I am asking our brother officials to assume their responsibilities in their work, efforts and daily conduct. The masses always have their eyes on the cadres who serve as their example.

#### Opening the Doors to Young Committed Intellectuals

It is the duty of everyone to respect the laws and political orientations and the decisions of the party congress and to establish traditions encouraging effort, a spirit of initiative and the fight against inertia. Only in that way shall we be able to achieve a better method of work.

This also leads us to emphasize the importance of the necessary concertation and dialogue between enterprises and mass organizations, the latter being part of the political leadership. We should eliminate the error consisting in distinguishing between the worker and the manager, our cadres being Algerian and our enterprises being national, not multinational companies or trusts.

In order to do so, it is the duty of workers and management personnel to work in a spirit of cohesiveness and understanding. There are sensitivities that must disappear. Relations between workers and management are governed

by clear and precise texts that every person must respect, because the very national interest is at stake.

One other important subject deserves my attention on this occasion, despite the fact that the questions raised are numerous and that time does not allow us to take them all up. This year will be marked by decisive, important activities on the economic, political and party levels.

Preparations are already underway to elect new rank-and-file party structures, but I should like to emphasize the need to open the doors to young committed intellectuals capable of making their contribution to the edification of the country thanks to their competence and dedication.

Thanks to this fact, we shall strengthen our party through the contribution of younger elements able to guarantee continuity, carry on high the flame of the revolution and preserve it from any error or deviation.

The contribution of these young people will certainly inject new blood into the National Liberation Front Party.

That is why I am asking you to base your choice on young elements committed to the socialist option and capable of assuming their responsibilities, especially at a time when we are getting ready to elect the people's assemblies, communal and wilaya assemblies and to draft the coming five-year plan.

We are on the eve of a great national event which we are actively planning: the 30th anniversary of the launching of the armed revolution, a date dear to all the Algerian people which requires judicious planning and deserves all our interest so that it may reflect the true dimensions of the Algerian revolution and so that the celebration of 1 November may this year be on a scale with the grandeur of our glorious revolution.

Finally, we have another rendez-vous at the end of this year or the beginning of next year to proceed to evaluate five years of development efforts, analyze deficiencies, detect errors and learn our lessons for the good of the next plan.

May our revolution triumph! Glory to our *Chouhadas*!

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BENEFITS OF IMPLEMENTING SYSTEM OF BASIC EDUCATION UNDERLINED

Cairo AL-AHRAM in Arabic 5 Feb 84 p 6

[Article by Mustafa al-Baradi'i: "Complete Development of Youth and Arming Youth With Fundamentals of Productive Citizenship"]

[Text] In the popular dialogue which took place between some citizens concerned with education and a number of educators who attended the meeting held by the People's Assembly Education Committee, the participants expressed their thoughts on basic education as a new experiment introduced into the schools now that the duration of compulsory education has been extended to 9 years. This extension is a major leap toward insuring that the citizen gets a sufficient degree of theoretical and vocational education for his public life and that we eradicate illiteracy at its source. Every educational experiment must take its course before it can create the conviction that it is a viable experiment. It usually takes an experiment several years before it can produce results. This happened when the Ministry of Education introduced the comprehensive reading-writing method into the elementary stage in the 1950's. At the time, there was a lot of clamor and the veteran teachers refused to try any new method until they were convinced by the experiment, which lasted several years, in the classroom.

After the 3-day dialogue on basic education, the number one man in charge of education in Egypt had to speak. Deputy Prime Minister Dr Mustafa Kamal Hilmi has answered all the questions regarding the results of the experiment that has been going on for 2 years and that has entered its 3rd year.

The deputy prime minister has said: The motive for focusing on basic education and on developing its concept and content is the fact that the duration of this type of education in most of the developing countries ranges from 4-6 years and that it has been proven that it has not fulfilled the smallest degree of the basic educational needs of citizenship and is poorly tied to the environment and to life. Therefore, the period of compulsory education has had to be extended to 9 years, keeping in mind that it is 12 years in some advanced countries.



The development of education in Egypt has come as a result of a national effort to which the political parties, the Teachers Union and the educational, social, cultural and economic institutions contributed in order to attain modern and comprehensive development. The new education law of 1981 came as a result of these efforts and the period of compulsory education was extended to include the elementary and preparatory stages.

#### Extending Compulsory Education

Basic education represents the minimum degree of the necessary fundamental education which the state undertakes to provide to all the people as a basic right to which every citizen is entitled. The education laws issued in 1953 stipulated that the period of compulsory education is a 6-year period beginning at the age of 6 and ending at the age of 12.

It became evident that this period, with its 6-year duration and with its educational content, was no longer adequate to prepare good citizens. Moreover, many of the aspects of this compulsory education were poorly linked to social and economic activity, not to mention that it was not adapted to the various environments.

Furthermore, it became evident that a number of students who received a 6-year compulsory education and failed to pass the elementary school often slid back to illiteracy.

Thus, the state decided to extend the period of compulsory education to 9 years under the canopy of the new education law and to consider this period of compulsory education basic education as of 1981-82.

The decision came in implementation of a fundamental principle of the constitution which stipulates that "education is a right guaranteed by the state. It is compulsory for the elementary stage and the state shall exert efforts to extend the compulsion to other stages."

#### Concept of Basic Education

The concept of basic education, as adopted by Egypt, is that it is a complete education extending for a period of 9 years for all the nation's children, both male and female, urban and rural. This underlines the principle of democracy and of equal chances of education for the people's children. This education seeks to achieve the complete growth of the student through arming him with the fundamentals of vigilant and productive citizenship with its religious, behavioral, national and educational values and its practical, cultural and vocational sides and aspects. Thus, basic education settles as of the early stages of education the issue of the relationship between education, the environment and productive work.

Basic education is functional in its philosophy, meaning that it is tied organically to the life of children and to their actual environment in a manner that strengthens the relationship between what the student studies

at school and what activities surround him in his external environment so that the external environment and its sources of production and wealth may become a source of learning and a sphere for research, study and activity and a field for application of the school experience, thus helping bolster the student's integration into his society and strengthening his interest in the applied aspect. With this concept, basic education is an education that couples the theoretical dimension with the applied dimension in a complete educational formula.

The 9-year basic education achieves several objectives, including the following:

Insuring that a person completing this stage of education does not slide back to illiteracy.

Tying the elementary and preparatory stages in a single educational context that insures that the same topics are not taught repeatedly, that coordination is established, that an opportunity is provided to distribute the instruction of the various topics over the 9-year study period and that there is better comprehension of the topics taught within the framework of the intellectual levels and mental maturity of the student.

Merging the elementary and preparatory stages within the context of the 9-year basic education makes it possible in the near and distant future to achieve the education law's stipulation that all teachers of basic education be graduates of teachers' colleges. A part of this objective has actually been achieved in the past 2 years with the appointment of 2,000 university graduates as basic education teachers. These people are now teaching in the elementary stage. Moreover, tens of thousands of elementary school teachers are being trained to raise their level to that of university education.

Basic education, with the vocational education and practical exercises it includes, gives whoever completes this education the opportunity to continue higher education or to face life after intensive vocational training. Basic education thus settles the issue of the relationship between education and work as of the early stages of education.

It is worth noting that vocational education and practical exercises included in basic education had existed previously by varying degrees in elementary and preparatory education. Basic education has come to bolster this aspect and to provide the necessary resources. For example, two periods were allotted weekly for home economics in the elementary stage. The two periods have been retained in the fifth and sixth grades of elementary education under the name of home economics and have also been extended to all grades of the preparatory stage. The new curricula are inclined toward a greater variety of applied studies, such as cooking, sewing and embroidery and knitting work. A number of female teachers have been trained at the local levels. They are graduates of the home economics branch of the teachers institutes. This is in addition to the graduates of the Home Economics College who teach in the preparatory stage of basic education.

Moreover, two periods were also allotted weekly for agricultural education in the elementary stage. Now this has been extended to all grades of the preparatory stage. The two periods have been retained in the fifth and sixth elementary grades and have been extended till the end of the ninth grade of basic education under the name of the "agricultural sphere."

The basic education curricula have also been inclined toward teaching more applied subjects, such as field crops, livestock breeding, poultry breeding and agro-industry. Elementary school teachers with a complementary education diploma and graduated from the agricultural training schools teach these subjects.

The industrial sphere includes what the student used to study before in technical education, with greater variety and with bolstered applied studies, such as carpentry work, furniture painting, home maintenance work, electrical work and textile work. Elementary school teachers with a complementary education diploma and graduated from industrial high schools and teachers of science in the preparatory stage who are graduates of university and teachers' colleges teach these subjects.

In the business sphere, the student gains the skills and experiences connected with daily life, such as dealing with banks, with the postal authorities and with the railroad authorities. Teachers of mathematics or of business subjects teach these topics.

In this regard, we should note that the student studies only two of these four spheres (one fundamental and the other subsidiary).

Many schools have been able to secure one or more rooms for applied studies. Moreover, the students' trips to neighboring fields to participate in harvesting crops or fighting pests are applied studies in the basic education which is founded on tying the school to the environment and to life.

From the assessor's followup on the basic education situation, it has become obvious that the students are interested in applied studies and vocational education.

#### Training:

Naturally, attention has been devoted to training at the central and local levels and this training has achieved many of its objectives in terms of raising the teachers' performance level in the practical spheres and their proper use of the instruments and equipment with which the schools have been supplied.

#### Equipment:

Equipment has been provided for basic training in the various spheres. The equipment has cost so far \$40 million, which covered 75 percent of the elementary and preparatory stage schools, totaling 14,000 schools. It is expected that the remaining equipment will be supplied in the next 2 years.

It is worth noting that a sum of 500 pounds has been allocated for every elementary school and 600 pounds for every preparatory school in order to supply these schools with the basic education equipment and instruments with which they have not yet been supplied.

Moreover, a sum of nearly 9 million pounds has been secured to supply the raw materials needed, with an average of 30 pounds allocated for each class.

#### Gradual Implementation

Thus, the transformation from the elementary education stage as a separate stage and the preparatory education stage as another independent stage to the 9-year basic education system has come about gradually and within the framework of change in the concept of the stage for the purpose of preparing citizens, along with the required preparation and training in the educational, ethical, behavioral, cultural, vocational and practical aspects, with the required entrenchment of the concept of basic training among 150,000 teachers, with training for those who will teach the developed vocational education curricula and with securing the equipment needed for nearly 14,000 schools. All this could not be done overnight and it has required serious and calm work and ceaseless efforts to tend this type of education, which has begun to prevail in most countries of the world, especially the third world countries. Moreover, this type of education is being implemented gradually as a matter of course. The introduction of vocational education of a certain kind to the fifth grade of elementary school, for example, requires subsequently the gradual application of this type of education in the sixth grade and then in the first, second and third grade of preparatory school.

Thus, the new education law No 139 was issued in 1981 and its implementation started in 1982-83. Scientifically, the general implementation of this law requires at least 5 years during which we reinforce the positive features that develop, take in the observations expressed and deal resolutely with the difficulties that emerge so as to attain the main goal, which is a popular gain, and to implement a formula agreed upon internationally, namely the formula of linking education with life and the environment and of training youth to be good citizens.

8494

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CONTROVERSY OVER WAGES IN PUBLIC, PRIVATE SECTORS DISCUSSED

Cairo AL-AHRAM AL-IQTISADI in Arabic No 787, 13 Feb 84 pp 10-11

[Article by Dr Mansur Fahmi; professor of Business Administration at Cairo University: "Have Wages Become Problem in Egypt"]

[Text] The issue of wages is one of the most important issues presented for discussion in Egypt. As a contribution on the writer's part in shedding further light on the manifestations of the wage problem in Egypt, he will present the issue on the basis of an applied case or model of wages and the basis of this model's corruption of the productive aspects of labor. In the case he will present, the researcher has resorted to simplicity, comprehensiveness and few figure indicators in the hope that the problem will become clear to all those concerned so that they may deal with it after hearing this case now that the times are gone when one talked on issues, but never on the issue of wages because of higher instructions, only when one were allowed to do so.

Contradictions in Minimum-Wage Limit

An observer of the wage levels in the government and public sector on the one hand and the private and joint-investment sector on the other hand finds a number of contradictions which we will sum up in the following:

The minimum cash wage limit is incompatible with the real wage limit. What we mean is that the legislator's determination to set the minimum wage limit at 30 pounds [monthly]--a wage usually paid to a worker supporting a family with children--makes this legal guarantee [of minimum wage] an impractical guarantee. Minimal housing, food and healthcare make the 30 pounds a mere contribution given the worker, with this worker being compelled to meet the minimal living requirements he and his family need [from other sources].

We are faced in this regard with a number of risks, of which we will mention the following:

It has been left up to the worker to determine his consumption pattern, to determine the minimum limit [of this consumption] and to define its components.

The (outlet) from which to secure the financial resources needed to meet whatever exceeds the minimum requirements is an open (outlet) left up to the workers' personal, not professional, skills.

In this regard, self-training or training itself begins the analysis to create additional financial resources, including:

Job solicitation.

Additional wage not countered by [additional] work.

Imaginary hazardous work allowances.

Incentives formulated to complement the wage, not to mention the other efforts that are perhaps represented in:

Partial or total failure to perform the job that should be performed on the pretext of exerting efforts to meet life's needs.

Engaging in job solicitation, such as accepting grants, charities or in-kind assistance.

Engaging in [additional] productive work while on the job so as to meet life's needs, such as running a buffet, selling revenue stamps, buying rural production or getting the subsidized goods distributed by the cooperatives and delivering them to the employees in return for gratuities.

Performing other work along with the civil service job, such as driving a car, performing domestic work, plumbing or painting work or other types of work. This work is rendered as a private service to other civil servants during, as much as possible, the official workhours and with work facilities, raw materials and equipment belonging to the official workplace, depending on the type of laxity or supervision or no the individual benefiting from such services.

It is evident from the above that the lower class of workers is suffering from the flaw in the cash and real minimum wage limit. This flaw strengthens in this class the urgent need to make up for this shortfall which usually leads to job laxity and, consequently, to laxity in production. Ultimately, we find institutions established and jobs assigned to them. But the work does not get done on time nor with the capability available to these institutions. This leads to the squandering of resources and to the failure of management, in addition to the increased cost of work because what is paid is small but we get no results in return for what is paid.

#### Government and Private Sector Wages

The party with the lion's share of the labor market is the state. This means that the state should lead in charting and imposing wage prices and in controlling the labor market. But we do not find such leadership on the part of the state in the labor market, even though the state represents

the base of the pyramid in this labor market. The state gathers the majority of the workers, offering them to those who do not possess the leadership elements so that they may select from among the workers and may change and substitute the particulars of the labor offered in the market. All the state has to do is train, educate and provide economic, social and recreational services, in addition to services for early old age and disability cases that exceed the limit and to supporting the failures and those who are rejected by the private and joint work establishments.

There is an almost identical similarity between the labor policies in the government sector and the public sector despite the difference in their viewpoint by virtue of the civil service job being a sovereignty job and the company job being an economic performance job. This similarity has caused the maladies of the government job to infiltrate the economic sector woned by the public sector companies.

The distinguishing characteristic of wages in the government and the public sector is the fact that these wages are tied to limits below the real wages requirements needed in light of the consumption patterns of the various job groups, in addition to the unlimited and unconditional freeing of wages in the private and joint sectors.

As a result of the above, wages in the government and public sector have dropped at a time when the prices of goods and services are rising constantly--a rise which has ruined any government attempts to offer wage increases to offset the impact of the price increases on disposable income.

To be honest, the open-door economy has encouraged this phenomenon because the projects set up as a result of this policy have been mostly or altogether commercial projects engaged in the production of food and clothing on the basis of using imported raw materials that kill or annihilate every similar local product so that these projects may get an unlimited profit margin and may not be subject to the limited profit margins and price controls established by the state. Moreover, the open-door economy has been coupled with the inflow of the savings of the Egyptians working abroad. These savings have been invested in nothing other than commerce and real estate speculation.

As a result of the low wages in the government and public sector and of the rising wages in a few private sector and investment institutions in an atmosphere of constantly rising prices and endless inflation, the maladies of laxity and waste existing among the class of workers earning the lower wages have spread to the higher civil service levels to affect the [entire] job structure of the government and the public sector by such a degree that I find it difficult to reiterate the negative features of the civil service job and the public sector company job--negative features that need studies and volumes to enumerate. It suffices in this regard to note the previous conferences and studies that make my testimony on this issue dispensable.

One of the distinguishing features of wages in the private sector establishments and joint investment sector establishments is the freeing of wages by rates that exceed by a large degree all wages set for the public sector companies.

The adoption of these distinctive wages is based on numerous factors:

Utilizing the highly trained and experienced competent persons existing in the public sector companies and in the government and employing them in the investment companies, thus avoiding the costs of job training.

A number of the projects depend on public and government assistance and approval. The appointment of some people who know the operational channels to get such approval and assistance represents a fundamental need.

The public and government sector has personalities whose assistance and help is needed and who cannot be (bought) because they are people with high ethics. It seems that gratifying them by employing their children or relatives and paying them special wages and promotions may be a more suitable channel toward dealing with these virtuous personalities.

There are certain jobs [in the private sector] that can depend on the time available to the government and public sector employees because of their ability to provide the needed time and efforts and the insurance and social services from their original employers. Therefore, those who hold such jobs can be employed [by the private sector] in productive jobs at low wages which are added to the wages and benefits they get from their [government or public sector] jobs where they do little work, they are not committed to production and they drain the government agency or the public sector company with all their insurance and social rights.

The state has undertaken an absolute commitment to employ all the labor available in the market without any effort on its part to extend the economic and service performance to contribute to absorbing the excess labor. So far, no study has been conducted to find out at least what is excess and what is needed in terms of the labor force in Egypt. Moreover, the regulation concerning the payment of unemployment benefits to those of working age who cannot find work is not applied. What is applied is the distribution of the available labor to the service and economic establishments without studying the impact of this distribution on creating job laxity and production deterioration. It is noticed that the units given more labor than necessary have experienced a quantitative and qualitative drop in their production.

As a result of this situation, we find that the labor force faces real needs to meet life's requirements. These requirements have been defined in the following:

A realistic minimum [wage] limit.



The opportunities the new companies offer the Egyptian job [market].

The goods and services offered in the market at a time when society views anything imported as something special.

The open-door economic activity that has taken place has been based on whetting the consumer's appetite for what is poor and damaging in eating, housing and recreational activities that are incompatible with the environment or with the social and economic foundation of Egyptian society.

The impact of the world inflationary wave following the 1973 war on Egyptian society. The regime has added other waves to this wave of inflation embodied in increased loans, failure to pay loan installments and interests and the tendency to move toward consumption aspects and away from the fruitful centers of production.

In light of the above, the government and public sector workers have demanded that the shortfall resulting from the high-wage [presumably meaning high-price] policies that have created successive links of pressure on the government and public sector job [workers] be compensated for [by the government]. [The government action] has been embodied in resorting to the use of pacifying policies, including:

Additional wages.

Allowances.

Incentives complementing the wages.

Relaxing the rules governing workhours and work equipment in order to give the worker the opportunity to manage his needs.

Using the workplace for the purpose of earning additional income.

Thus, we find that Egyptian workers are revolving in a vicious circle based on meeting life's needs with an endless maelstorm [of work]--work whose instruments are neglecting production and disregarding its quality and its criteria of productivity.

8494

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OFFICIAL CHANNELS, BLACK MARKET COMPETE FOR REMITTANCES OF WORKERS ABROAD

Cairo AL-AHRAM AL-IQTISADI in Arabic No 787, 13 Feb 84 pp 13-16

[Article by Jamal Zayidah: "Struggle Over Savings of Egyptians Working Abroad"]

[Text] The countdown to face the month of problems has begun. The annual month of problems is April. The owners of the major Gulf money-exchange companies have nicknamed it the month of troubles because of the tricks and ruses employed by foreign currency middlemen specializing in gathering the savings of Egyptians working in the fraternal Arab oil countries. Why this month in particular? Because teachers' summer holidays begin in April every year and most of the Egyptians working here begin to prepare to spend their annual holidays in Egypt. Add to this the fact that a considerable number of Arab tourists also come. It is well known that the Egyptian banks are tied by agreements with the Gulf money-exchange companies in accordance with which the Egyptians' savings are remitted to Egypt. However, the efforts of the middlemen lead to decreasing the value of these savings. In this article, we will try to answer some important questions to which, I believe, the Egyptian banks and banking apparatus have not tried to find answers. These questions are:

What happens to the savings of the Egyptians working in the fraternal Arab oil countries? What is the journey that these savings make from the moment they gather in the hands of the Egyptian working here until they reach Egypt? How can we guarantee the flow of these savings within the legal channels, meaning the Egyptians banks, so as to enhance to the utmost degree the benefit the Egyptian economy derives from them?

Experience says that the Egyptian currency authorities are still revolving in the sphere in which they put themselves several years ago in their attempt to catch up with the currency middle men and with the major "black market" dealers in foreign currency. The latest of the Central Bank's efforts in this regard is its decision to raise the dollar exchange price from 108 to 112 piasters in an attempt to narrow the gap between the friendly price and the black market price. It is well known that the "friendly price" had risen to 108 piasters per dollar before it was raised to 112 piasters in the past 2 weeks. Instructions were issued by the Central Bank to the Egyptian banks several months ago to agree to convert

the dollar at a price of 108 piasters per dollar in an attempt to gather the largest amount of the savings of Egyptians working abroad. A large part of these savings is controlled by the "foreign currency emperors" or the "big seven" who engage in this activity under the eyes and ears of the currency authorities and whose influence has reached such a degree that they have come to constitute a "lobby" in the banking apparatus--a lobby through which they obstruct the adoption of any measures against them.

The step taken by the Central Bank several months ago to survey the middlemen who exploit the banks and form banks within banks through their accounts that are spread in the branches of the banks accredited by the Central Bank, which instructed that the accounts of these middlemen be frozen and that the number of checkbooks issued to them be limited--this step did no good because the middlemen quickly found gaps through which to gather the Egyptians' savings.

In light of the inability of the Central Bank of Egypt to exercise its full control over the activities of all the banks operating in Egypt because of its weak resources and the flight of competent people working in the Banks Control Department to work in the open-door economy banks, the halls of many banks have turned into centers where the black market merchants deal in foreign currency.

Matters have reached such a point that some of these middlemen have opened offices to gather the savings of Egyptians in the UAE and Kuwait and have advertized their activity in the papers. What is new in the issue is that one of these middlemen has agreed with officials of the public sector banks to remit the savings at the friendly [incentive] price, provided that he receives the same treatment accorded to the well-known money-changing institutions in the Gulf area, such as al-Mazzini and al-Fardan who remit the Egyptians' savings to the public sector banks in accordance with the prices set by the Central Bank. What is serious in this regard is that such treatment is accorded to an individual who is not subject to any financial or currency control by the Central Bank, not to mention the absence of any guarantees for the Egyptians' savings in case they are lost. Moreover, such a tacit approval may encourage others to demand similar treatment and demand that the public sector banks and the Central Bank "bless" such activity.

The savings of the Egyptians working abroad have amounted to considerable sums. According to the Central Bank figures, these savings amounted to \$1,888,300,000 in 1980. According to a recent statement by Prime Minister Dr Fu'ad Muhyi-al-Din, the volume of the savings of Egyptians working abroad has amounted to \$3 billion. Even though these figures do not tally with reality, the number of Egyptians working in the Arab countries amounted in 1982, according to the estimates of the Egyptian Ministry of Foreign Affairs, to 2,962,000 Egyptians. If the savings of each are calculated at an average at \$1,000 annually, then the volume of the savings would amount to \$3 billion annually. Actually, the number of Egyptians working in the Arab countries exceeds 3 million and their savings exceed \$3 billion,

keeping in mind that a considerable number of Egyptians do not remit a large part of their savings to Egypt but keep it in foreign banks. I have found this out from my followup on and questioning of a number of Egyptians working here. They put their savings in foreign banks for fear of being unable to transfer their foreign currency abroad once it enters Egypt. This is due to their unawareness of the Egyptian currency law which permits whoever supplies his account [at home] with foreign currency from abroad to re-transfer this currency in case he wishes to do so. This makes it necessary for the Egyptian banks to conduct a study on the Egyptians working abroad to familiarize them with the drawbacks of the failure of their savings to flow into Egypt. They are also required to explain the currency law to these Egyptians in a simple manner and to familiarize them with the benefits the law gives them.

#### Gulf View

It is well known that the Egyptian banks have concluded agreements with the major money-changing companies in the Arab Gulf area in accordance with which the savings of the Egyptians working in the area are remitted to Egypt. These companies are the only legal channel through which these savings, which ultimately end up in the public sector banks, are remitted to Egypt. What is the view of these companies regarding the process of remitting the Egyptians' savings and what is their position vis-a-vis the illegal competition posed by the middlemen and commission agents [samasirah] in the area--a competition which causes a large part of these hard-currency savings to be lost?

Husayn al-Fardan, a Qatari businessman and owner of al-Fardan Money-Changing Company, has said: There is a struggle between the Egyptian foreign currency black market and the state, represented by the Central Bank which tries to control the situation with all the means. At times, we find the Central Bank the winner in control and at other times we find the black market in control. Despite the temptations, we refuse to deal with the black market and prefer to deal with the legal channels. However, the middlemen have begun to pull the rug from under the feet of the Central Bank of Egypt. The market is open for manipulation and requires somebody to control it with an iron hand. We are certain that the officials of the Egyptian banking apparatus are concerned with the Egyptian economy's interest and this problem will only be solved through the public sector banks which were in control of the market once and which can regain their control by forming committees that meet daily at the Central Bank to determine price policy and transactions policy.

If the Egyptian banks are allowed more flexibility, they will control and curtail the foreign currency black market. This is what happened 2 years ago. The officials of the public sector banks must be given greater powers and intruders must be kept away from this process.

I asked Husayn al-Fardan: Do you think that the policy of raising the exchange price for the U.S. dollar can lead to solving this problem?

He answered immediately: On the contrary, the constant raising of the exchange price of the dollar will not solve the problem because the demand for this currency will increase.

The middlemen will, on their part, up the exchange price to exceed the price offered by the Central Bank. Therefore, the Egyptian banks must control the supply and demand and a solution must be found for the problem of the multiple exchange price in Egypt.

#### Month of Troubles

Husayn al-Fardan added: In April every year, the changes and problems of the Egyptian currency market begin because the middle men work actively to gather the hard currency belonging to the Egyptians working abroad. It is well known that at the beginning of April, the workers start getting their vacations and traveling to Egypt and that the scholastic year also ends and the teachers begin to travel. This is coupled with travel by Arab tourists who go to spend their summer vacations in Egypt. We usually await the month of April with anticipation to see what new methods and minds of these middlemen will come up with to get the biggest share possible of the savings of the Egyptians working here.

In the past, the Egyptian banks set a unified policy of which they notified us and with which they proceeded to confront the black market merchants. They informed us annually of what they decided. In this way, they were able to control the market for 2 or 3 years and did not permit these middlemen the opportunity to manipulate the market.

Every year we are compelled to protect ourselves daily because of the price fluctuations. Four months ago, we were almost frozen [out of business] because of our insistence on dealing with the public sector banks and our adherence to the legal channels. We consider any offer made to us by the black market damaging to a large Arab country, namely Egypt, whose economy we try to help with all our might. We turn down a large number of offers annually and we supply the public sector banks with the names of these middlemen who deal in the black market. The public sector banks then take steps against them without creating an uproar in the market and the Egyptians working in the Arab countries refrain from dealing with them. But in their own crooked ways, these middlemen manage to manipulate the black market again.

What is the volume of the savings of the Egyptians who work here and which are remitted to Egypt by al-Fardan Company?

He said: As an agent of the Egyptian banks, we remit annually a large part of the total savings of the Egyptians working in Qatar and the UAE. Because of their increased awareness, the Egyptians working in these two countries remit their savings through us. These savings are estimated at \$350 million annually. We can raise this sum to \$450 million annually if the banks with which we deal manage to control the black market.

## Egyptian View

An Egyptian view was given us by one of the competent Egyptians who has been working here for 10 years and who has experienced the problem since its beginning. Mustafa 'Abd-al-Wahhab, the assistant manager of the Qatari Commercial Bank for Banking Credit and Marketing, Ltd., said: The remittances of the Egyptians working here in the Gulf were sent at the outset through collateral accounts. There were two accounts: An account with the incentive price which was posted by the Central Bank of Egypt and a second account called the commodity account which was arranged between the money-changing companies and the banks to finance commodity import transactions. This account did not last long because faults were discovered in it.

There was also the tourist account [presumably using the word account to mean price] for the transfer of the Egyptian pound for non-Egyptians.

Then followed the present system which is embodied in opening accounts in Egyptian pounds in return for covering them with the dollar according to prices agreed upon with the Egyptian banks within the framework of the price policy established by the Central Bank of Egypt. An account in Egyptian pounds and another account in dollars are opened with the Egyptian bank and our withdrawals in Egyptian pounds are covered by withdrawals from the dollar account.

The dollar exchange prices began at 83.5 piasters per dollar and then rose to 87, 93 and 97 piasters. The price agreed upon by the Egyptians public sector banks on the one hand and the money-changing companies and the banks making the remittances then rose to 108 piasters per dollar and has reached 112 piasters in the past 2 weeks.

Despite this, the black market still has its tangible impact on the withdrawal of the savings of the Egyptians working abroad. It is unreasonable for the problem to remain unsolved so far. When the remittance price was 97 piasters per dollar the black market price was 105 piasters and then rose to 112 piasters. The Central Bank intervened to eliminate the black market and the [official] price rose to 108 whereas the black market price climbed to 120 piasters.

Here, we pause to say that it is not in the interest of the Egyptian economy to raise the remittance price constantly because this process will not lead to eliminating the black market. There will continue to be a gap between the official price and the black market price as long as the black market middlemen can find gaps through which to penetrate and engage in their illegal activity and there will always be oneupmanship between the Central Bank price and the middlemen's price.

The method by which these middlemen carry out their activity is embodied in their opening bank accounts in Egyptian pounds in their own name and then issuing checks in their names to Egyptians working in the Arab oil countries, charging these Egyptians on the basis of the black market price in return for their dollars.

What have the Egyptian public sector banks done?

These banks have prepared a black list containing the names of the middlemen and commission agents so that no accounts in Egyptian pounds may be opened in their names because they utilize such accounts in middlemen activities. However, the names contained in this list represent no more than a small percentage of the foreign currency middlemen.

#### Latest Endeavor

From my followup, I have found that the latest attempt made by one of these middlemen was to open an office in one of the Gulf states. He then opened accounts in several main branches of the Bank of Egypt: An account in his name, another account in the name of one underaged son and a third account in the name of another son, depositing nearly 100,000 pounds in each account, with the money representing the savers' monies, and getting a large number of checks. He then started to draw from the Egyptians their savings, issuing them checks in return on the basis of the black market price of 3.22 Qatari riyals per pounds. At the time, the black market price was 114 piasters per dollar. This is a lower price than the price paid by the Central Bank to the accredited money-changing companies, namely 3.38 Qatari riyals per pound or the equivalent of 108 piasters per dollar. This middlemen issued postdated checks, with the date of the check falling 15 days behind the transaction date. This means that this middlemen kept the savings of the Egyptians for 15 days before they could cash their checks. During the 15 days, he can dispose of the sums by purchasing dollars, selling them in the black market and supplying his accounts with the Egyptian pound.

When some money-changing companies complained to the Bank of Egypt and this bank referred the complaint to the Central Bank, the latter agreed to have a personal account opened for this individual in Egyptian pounds and to be supplied by the dollar at a remittance price of 108 piasters per dollar. This was before the price was raised to 112 piasters per dollar. This is considered an opportunity for this individual to have an accredited account from which to cover his transactions. This means that the Central Bank has given this individual the legitimacy given banks and money-changing companies.

It is a serious precedent in the sphere of banking activity to permit an individual to sell in Egyptian pounds or in dollars from personal accounts, even if he sells at the official price set for the banks, because this means that any personal problems to which this individual may be exposed will lead to the loss of the rights of the Egyptians whereas the banks and money-changing companies have been created to engage in money-remittance transactions subject to the control of central banks.

What is dangerous in this situation is that the Egyptians' savings end up in the hands of middlemen. Should such an individual go bankrupt, then the savings of Egyptians are lost and the central banks will not intervene to protect the victims. Supposing such an individual dies, how can the savers obtain their rights?

This individual and others advertize their prices in the papers periodically.

### Saving Habits

Regarding the saving habits of the Egyptians working in the Gulf, Mustafa 'Abd-al-Wahhab has said that they are divided into two types:

First, the Egyptian workers who come to work here for short periods ranging from 2-5 years: All the savings of such workers are used to purchase manufactured goods, such as cars, refrigerators and apartments. So, if the public sector banks can supply them with these goods for hard currency, they can thus siphon a large part of the savings of the Egyptians working abroad to serve the interest of the Egyptian industrial firms, such as Ideal and al-Nasr Car Company. Al-Fardan Company has begun to sell apartments to the Egyptians through the Commerce and Development Bank. It also reserves Ideal refrigerators and al-Nasr cars for them.

The second type of Egyptian workers in the Gulf are the workers who come here to work for long periods of time. The objective of this type is to save as much as possible. These workers generally put their savings in the banks in the form of deposits to get a monthly interest rate which represents to them a monthly income on which they can live upon returning to Egypt finally. The goal of this type is to increase its savings and always remits these savings to the black market.

What is required is to focus on this type of Egyptians working abroad because the volume of their assets in the banks is large and because they are tempted by any inducements in the black market.

Most of these workers purchase saving certificates of the \$5,000-\$10,000 categories with the aim of collecting the yield in dollars and selling it in the black market.

### Type of Remittances

Mustafa 'Abd-al-Wahhab further added that the remittances of the Egyptians working abroad are divided into two kinds:

The first kind consists of direct remittances or sums remitted in checks, money orders or by telex to the accounts of beneficiaries in Egypt either in dollars or in Egyptian pounds, covered in dollars.

It is required to encourage and enhance this type of remittances because in this case the Egyptian banks pay the Egyptian beneficiary in Egyptian pounds and take from him dollars, thus increasing their share of the hard currency. As for the remittances in the dollar, they are deposited in the accounts of beneficiaries in dollars and these beneficiaries are free to use these dollars as they wish. The law protects this freedom.



The second kind of remittances is the remittance intended for opening long-term accounts in dollars. Certain controls are required for this type to prevent the seepage of these savings to the black market. Such controls should not undermine the freedom of the individuals [involved] but may take the form of an incentive system established by the banks to market the dollars for the beneficiaries at a certain price or to give them open withdrawal rights in Egyptian pounds in return for retaining their savings in dollars on soft terms.

There are also the indirect remittances which include the Egyptians' purchase of capital or manufactured goods and paying their price in dollars. This type of remittances can be encouraged through the expanded sale of such goods by the Egyptian government and public sector factories at prices below the sale prices in the Egyptian markets so as to give the Egyptians working abroad an incentive to purchase these goods. The ultimate result of such remittances will be increased hard-currency revenues for the Egyptian factories and Egyptian economy. For example, the public sector companies can sell cars and television sets to Egyptians working abroad at wholesale prices in return for payment in dollars. In this case, the profit which the Egyptian working abroad seeks is made through the purchase of a manufactured commodity in dollars and then reselling it to increase his profits instead of selling his dollars to the black market. This will lead to securing the public sector's foreign currency needs.

There is another proposal embodied in having the Egyptian [public] sector banks send letters to the owners of deposits in dollars offering them facilities to purchase apartments for those who wish to purchase apartments or to participate in certain projects on condition that the banks retain their deposits for a certain period of time. Thus, the banks are given the opportunity to handle the deposits and, consequently, to participate in investment projects in return for retaining the deposit for a long time.

Finally, the Central Bank of Egypt should put an end to the policy of gradually raising the price of the U.S. dollars.

The dialogue on this issue will continue until the banking authorities find a solution for it.

#### What Do Egyptians Working Abroad Say?

How do the Egyptians working in the Arab countries remit their savings to Egypt? How does a person who has accumulated savings after meeting his essential needs, such as buying an apartment and the necessary manufactured goods, think of investing these savings?

The common characteristic among the Egyptians working abroad is their unawareness of the available investment opportunities as a result of their lack of confidence in the shares of new companies or joint stock companies or in setting up new projects. This is in addition to the absence of minimum efforts to enlighten them on the part of the banking apparatus and of the government authorities to familiarize these savers with the currency regulations in force.

Some of them wish there were such saving vessels as new industrial companies guaranteed by the state and yielding to the investor who purchases the shares of such companies a profit exceeding the posted interest rate paid for bank deposits.

Another category of workers make the remittances necessary to their families and kinsmen to meet their monthly expenses while keeping the rest of their savings in their pockets rather than deposit them in a bank account because of their distrust of transactions with banks. They keep this money until their vacation time comes and then they change the money into Egyptian pounds and enter the country, even though this is prohibited by the currency law, or they remit the money to the branch of an Egyptian bank before leaving for Egypt and carry in their pockets a check payable immediately upon their arrival in the country.

Let us move closer to the lines to read what the Egyptians working abroad say.

Ibrahim Hamdi, a high-school teacher who has been working in Qatar for 5 years: Since I came here, I have been remitting my savings through a money-changing company. This is the ideal remittance method because it notifies me of reception of the sum remitted. The money-changing company asks the bank with which I deal to notify me of the developments occurring in my personal account. This is a correct and sound procedure. After depositing my savings, I ask that they be transferred into dollars. I have no projects in Egypt and I do not put in my hard-currency account more than what I can dispense with. When I have expenses in Egypt, I remit money through the official channel, meaning that I pay Qatari riyals which I collect in Egyptian pounds in Egypt so that I may not enter the labyrinths of changing the money into dollars in the black market. We wonder in our gatherings how to invest our monies. We wish the government would secure for us a means to invest our monies by setting up investment companies and advertizing them here. We would quickly invest in such companies as long as the investment is insured. I believe that this is a better way than putting these savings in the banks because I think that depositing money in banks to get interest is the investment of the weak. The investment companies should have offices here to advertise these companies instead of letting us resort to the conventional deposits process in which we have to wait for a month without getting any interest on our money.

I notice that some Egyptian workers change their riyals to Egyptian pounds when they find that the value of the Egyptian pound has dropped. I consider this treason against Egypt. The workers here fear dealing with the banks and do not feel reassured when they get their money in the form of a bond. This type of worker needs to be enlightened. In some past years, the Egyptian Embassy issued a pamphlet notifying us that some fake Egyptian pound bills were in circulation. This reduces the workers' desire to change the hard currency they possess into Egyptian pounds and take the pounds with them to Egypt.

Muhammad Jamal-al-Din Isma'il, reinforced concrete worker: I worked in Libya and Saudi Arabia before coming here. I remit my money through a money-changing company. I remit money to my family in Egyptian pounds. I fear the dollar because its prices fluctuate from day to day. I have built a four-floor house which gives me an income of 35 pounds monthly. I have opened an account in Cairo Bank. I go on vacation every 2 years. When I go to Egypt, I withdraw from my savings until I find, with God's help, another job. I then go through the same process of emigrating to work in one of the Arab countries.

Muhammad Ahmad al-Sayyid, farmer from Qina: My father owns 4 feddans of land. Our family has grown [too big for the land]. I have left farming and work in construction at present. I save nearly 300 pounds monthly. I have been in Qatar for 4 months and I save nearly 2,000 pounds annually, in addition to the gifts and appliances that I buy here. I have an account in the Naja' Hammadi branch of the National Bank and I send the children's expenses to this account.

Sami Mahmud Mursi, a construction worker from Asyut: Originally, I was a farmer and my father is a farmer. I abandoned farming because it does not meet my expenses and I came to Qatar. I save nearly 3,000 pounds annually. I have opened an account in the Asyut branch of Alexandria Bank and I remit my savings to this account. I have not gone on vacation for a year and a half.

8494

CSO: 4504/206

EDITOR-IN-CHIEF NAFI' COMMENTS ON ASSEMBLY ELECTIONS

Cairo AL-AHRAM in Arabic 24 Feb 83 p 3

[Article by Ibrahim Nafi': "Forthcoming Elections, Calmly"]

[Text] The voters and the government of the ruling National [Democratic] Party have proven their sincere desire not to interfere in the elections.

The issue is not one of proof of government and police neutrality in the elections but one of real belief that true democracy is a right, a commitment and a duty dictated by political responsibility on those who step forward to shoulder the trust of leadership and government in our country.

I am not happy with those who use the elections which took place recently in some districts as proof of government and police neutrality. I am also not happy with some opposition circles who succumb to their misgivings, declaring that the government neutrality in the elections which took place in Muharram Bey District, for example, has been intended to lure the opposition to the elections and then to besiege it and interfere and rig the elections. Strange things can happen in this world!

I am happy with neither these nor with those:

Because government neutrality in elections is something natural dictated by the government's duties and commitments to this people;

Because the holding of sound elections reflecting the people's true will is a right which the government owes the Egyptian people and because the government loses its legitimacy and the legitimacy of its representation if it abandons this right;

And because we are a nation with an established tradition in constitutional action and in democratic government. We had our first constitution in October 1866 when the first Egyptian constitution was issued, stating in its introduction the following insofar as the objective of establishing a system of parliamentary rule in Egypt is concerned: "The only purpose of this is consultation and cooperation to build and develop the homeland and to reap the fruits of the virtues of combined opinions."

Our experience with democratic action is an old experience dating back to times when numerous peoples had not yet known constitutions, elections or elected governments.

As 'Abd-al-'Aziz Fahmi, the father of the modern constitution, once said, we are a "long-established nation in pursuit of the constitution." We have known to a large degree sound democratic action in numerous eras. We aspire to be a "lighthouse" of democracy in this troubled part of the world and to be "the real oasis" of democracy in the deserts of undemocratic government.

So how could our issue be currently the issue of proving with evidence and through reading the events that the forthcoming elections will be clean elections?

The insistence on this evidence is, in my opinion, an insult to the Egyptian people, with their long democratic experience, and an insult to the minds of their cadres and their men of opinion. We all have our memories of uncouth intervention in the elections and our memories of the falsification of some elections. We all know that some of the past's experiences have been painful. But the evidence of the present promises a return to the normal and sound path.

The impartiality of the elections must not be an issue of discussion over which argument arises and debates take place. Rather, it should turn into one of the stable political values and into a code of behavior established in society's conscience. We shoulder the duty of warning against any deviation from this code of behavior. We do not have to live with this issue [of impartiality] day and night as if it were the sole fundamental issue.

The main issue is how to transform the coming elections into the ideal means for producing a parliamentary council representing properly all of the people's groups, including the Egyptian people's real leaderships and comprised of the elements most capable of serving their country, regardless of whether from pro-government seats or from opposition seats.

These elections are distinctive elections by all criteria. They are the first general elections held in Egypt since liberation of all Egyptian territories from Israeli occupation as a result of the ferocious battles we have launched both on the battlefield and in the peace arena.

They are the first general elections held during the term of President Husni Husni Mubarak who has proven his legitimacy through the first 2 years of his term with purity, affiliation with the broad masses and respect for the people's will, the supremacy of the law and the word of the judiciary.

They are the first general elections to be held among organized political forces expressing themselves under the canopy of the constitutional legitimacy which believes in the pluralism of parties.

They are the first general elections held in more than 30 years in which all this number of political parties (six parties) participate, moving freely and working with all their efforts to gain popular support for their programs and nominees. Because they are thus, these elections are our big chance to serve our country by holding elections that are tantamount to the ideal, the model and the indicator of our cultural, political and intellectual level.

This will not be achieved unless we devote all our efforts at the outset to urging the voters to exercise their right of election and to end their abstention from participation. Let us admit that the reason for this abstention is what has been implanted in the voters' minds regarding the usefulness of these elections. Let us admit that we are facing a considerable "state of boycott" on the part of the voting public toward their election rights. We must face this state by mobilizing the voters to exercise their voting rights and their rights to approve and reject.

In this regard, it is not enough to stiffen the penalty for failing to vote. We must also entrench in the conscience of the Egyptian citizen that he harms his country's interests by abstaining from participation and that he has no right to complain about the problems of services and utilities if he does not perform his initial role in solving these problems by electing those who reflect his opinion and represent him in the parliamentary council.

This will not be achieved unless the battle of the forthcoming elections centers on the political programs of various parties, each with its own vision of the means and resources to solve society's problems, with these programs differing in their means and details and agreeing in their ultimate objectives of serving the country.

This will not be achieved unless the battle is a battle of political programs, not a battle of persons, and a battle for the selection of the best and not a selection of those most capable of getting votes without political merit or sufficient qualification.

This will not be achieved unless the forthcoming election battle is a battle for building and for adding to what is already built not a battle for destruction, for the settlement of old accounts and for the payment of previous bills.

We will reap no small or big benefit from besieging the Egyptian people with all these personal accounts, with all these political rancors among some people or with this desire to slander and expose among others.

The forthcoming battle will also fail to achieve its desired goals unless we give all the parties balanced and equal opportunities to present their programs.

The government's view in this regard is that all the parties, excluding the Ummah Party, have press platforms from which to present their programs and that the Ummah Party finds in the national and partisan press the opportunity to disseminate its news. As for radio and television, they are not used to campaign for the ruling party. According to a prominent official of the National Party, "we do not urge the people to join the National Party or to elect its candidates through the radio and television. If the opposition parties are complaining that they do not get the opportunity to advocate their programs through the radio and television, then we hear the same complaint from the ruling National Party deputies and members. This is normal because we do not devote these two media to the partisan propaganda of any party, even if it is a ruling party."

What the prominent government and party official has said in this regard represents a viewpoint with its weight to those who hold it. But we believe that the eagerness to hold the forthcoming elections in a better political climate requires us to think of a way by which to give all the parties, when the battle begins, a reasonable chance to disseminate the news of their election moves and to follow up on their activities in a manner that convinces the voters that the official media reflect truly all that happens in the election battle.

It remains for us after this to demand that all the parties, led by the ruling party, abide by the dictates of the constitution and the law in this battle, that all believe that we are waging an election battle for the interest of this people and this homeland and that our main concern in them should be how to serve Egypt in the best ways and with the fastest means to solve the Egyptian people's problems, to alleviate their hardship and to utilize their latent and creative capabilities in making a better future for our country.

This is our objective. Let the forthcoming general elections be our basic means to achieve this objective with honorable practices on the part of all parties involved. There is more to the discussion.

8494

CSO: 4504/206

## DOMESTIC, FOREIGN POLICY RADICALIZED

London AFRICA CONFIDENTIAL in English No 5, 29 Feb 84 pp 3-4

[Text] There has again been a see-saw in domestic Libyan politics. The radicals are back. As we revealed earlier (see AC Vol 25 No 1), plans for the construction of a 2,000km pipeline to carry water from aquifers under the Sahara in southern Libya to its Mediterranean coast led to a moderation of Col Moammar Gadaffi's rhetoric, at home and abroad. Pragmatism was in the air and technocrats valued more highly than theoreticians.

However it seems that phase is over. Gadaffi had more difficulty than he imagined obtaining financial and diplomatic support from Saudi Arabia and the Gulf for his "man-made river" project. As a result only \$160m in advance payment had been made to the main contractors, Dong Ah of South Korea by early January, as we expected. Now the Libyans are talking somewhat unconvincingly of syndicating the remaining \$87.5m advance payment and performance bonds amongst "a consortium of Arab and South Korean banks."

More importantly, there has been a revival of the influence of the apparently extra-legal 'revolutionary committees' involved in the killings of prominent Libyan exiles four years ago.

One sign of this has been a deterioration of Libyan relations with its neighbours, particularly in the Arab world. Last week Jordan broke diplomatic relations with Libya after its embassy in Tripoli was sacked by a mob which had apparently been officially summoned to protest against King Hussein's diplomacy with Washington and attitude to the Palestinians. Jordan has never been particularly close to Libya, and relations were not helped by the defection last year of the Libyan ambassador to Jordan, Dr Aziz Omar Shennif, to the main Libyan opposition movement, the National Front for the Salvation of Libya (NFSL). However this official rupture only highlights Gadaffi's difficulty in finding common ground with Arab countries.

Gadaffi appears to be in trouble in Lebanon. He has long supported radical Palestinian groups there against the PLO and various Muslim militias against the Phalange-dominated political status quo. However the main emerging Muslim group, the Shias and their Amal militia, have a long-standing dispute with Gadaffi over the disappearance of their spiritual leader, the Imam Musa Sadr during a visit to Libya in 1979. For months Gadaffi has refused to comment on this issue.



However in an impassioned outburst during the ninth ordinary session of the General People's Congress (GPC) on 15 February Gadaffi broke his accustomed silence, denying any role in the Imam's death but at the same time accusing him of being an agent of the Shah of Iran. "This statement might explode the situation and create uproar in Lebanon," the Libyan news agency JANA quoted Gadaffi as saying. "But I am insistent on saying it so that Libya is no longer accused of Sadr's disappearance. Thousands of 'Sadrs' have died in Lebanon and the Arab world. Why should we cry only for Musa Sadr, the agent of the Shah?" This rendering of events will hardly have improved Gadaffi's hand in the Middle East.

Closer to home, the recently improved relations with his Mabhreb neighbours have been undermined by Gadaffi's support for January's anti-government riots in Tunisia and his reluctance to back Algerian initiatives in Western Sahara and Chad. It was at the latest meeting of the GPC that the full extent of Gadaffi's frustration and the changes in political direction became apparent.

On the domestic front Gadaffi lashed out at some of the decisions of the Basic Congresses (gatherings of Libyans in their places of work) which happened to differ from his own. He particularly disliked their rejection of his proposals for the military training of women, for a (budget-saving) increase in the proportion of primary education conducted in the home and for changes in family law.

Gadaffi, as leader of the revolution, was able to demonstrate his displeasure by reshuffling the GPC, his cabinet. The moderate prime minister Jeddalah Talhi and foreign minister Abdel Ati al Obeidi have been sacked. In their stead Mohammed Zarouq Rajab, formerly secretary-general of the GPC (a body which stems from the Basic Congresses) has been appointed secretary of the GPC (prime minister), while Ali Treiki has been recalled from his post as Libya's permanent representative to the UN to take over the foreign liaison bureau (ie foreign minister).

Amongst a number of changes in his 'cabinet,' Gadaffi has introduced a new minister for security, Col Younis Bilgazim Ali. Quite what this post requires has not been spelled out, but Libyan exiles fear it signals a stepping-up of actions against themselves, particularly as Younis's assistants have been identified as Ahmed Gadafadam, Gadaffi's cousin and international fixer, Abdullah Senoussi, who headed internal security in 1980-81, Sayed Rashid, who was arrested last year in France for terrorist activities and later released, and Musa Kusa, former head of the Libyan People's Bureau in London. (He was asked to leave by the British government in 1979).

These changes have already led to the expected shake-up in People's Bureaux staff abroad. In London, bureau chief Adam Kweiri and his cultural attache, Abdel Hamid bin Moussa, have been recalled to Tripoli, while the direction of the bureau has been placed in the hands of a four-man committee with well-known revolutionary committee pasts, Abdul Gader Baghdadi, Ali Bugaziah, Martoug Martoug and Salih al Mabrouk. This type of appointment serves two purposes: to step up the ideology and to intimidate potential opponents.

The generally unsettled atmosphere in Libya has led to the American-based Occidental Petroleum, for long the most privileged foreign oil company working in Libya (and the one most likely to make allowances for Gadaffi), indicating its intention to reduce its interests in the country. Occidental has had preliminary discussions to sell half its 49 percent equity holdings in Libya to Austria's OMF, Sweden's Svenska and Finland's Neste oil companies. Libya is reportedly unhappy about this move. Gadaffi has valued the American connection because it has given him access to the latest oil technology and other high technology.

CSO: 4500/53

## STATUS, EFFECTS OF WATER PROJECT EXAMINED

London AFRICA CONFIDENTIAL in English No 1, 4 Jan 84 pp 3-4

[Text]

A new round in the campaign to moderate the political and economic ambitions of Libyan leader Col. Moammar Gadaffi is underway.

The loosely coordinated campaign is being fought out in the fields of foreign affairs, domestic policy-making and economic development. The vehicle for all three areas of endeavour is the remarkable plan, resurrected by Gadaffi late last year, to build a 2,000 kilometre pipeline from vast aquifers under the Sahara in southern Libya to as yet undeveloped agricultural areas along the Mediterranean coast. The idea was originally suggested by Dr. Armand Hammer of *Occidental Petroleum* in the mid-1960s.

The extent of the Libyans' commitment to this project will be apparent within a few days: the secretariat of land reclamation and agricultural development in Tripoli is due to make the first 7.5% advance payment (\$247.5m) to the main contractors, *Dong Ah of South Korea*, within two months of the signing of a \$3.3 billion contract on 6 November. The contract involves the pipeline and the construction of two factories (at Sarir and Marsa al-Brega) to manufacture the four-metre steel pipe required for the job. The factories will use technology supplied by *Price Brothers* of Dayton, Ohio. Overall consultant is the British office of *Brown & Root* of Houston, Texas, which already has 30 staff in Libya. *Dong*

*Ah* eventually expects to have 8,000 employees on what everyone from Gadaffi downwards calls "the great man-made river". It will be putting out tenders for preliminary plant, such as the camps needed for the work force, as soon as the advance payment is received.

The well-heads are in Tazerbo and Sarir in the south east of Libya. An estimated 270 wells are due to be drilled at these two sites under a separate \$110m contract which is expected to go to *Geotehnika* of Yugoslavia. The water will be pumped to 300 metres above sea level, whence it will flow to a storage lake at Ajedabia. From there two further pipelines will take 2 billion cubic metres a year east to Benghazi and 1 billion cubic metres a year west to Sirte. A second phase of the project, for which the ground survey work is now being done by *Scott Wilson Kirkpatrick and Partners* of Britain, will link the 400 kilometres between a well-field at Sawknah and Tripoli.

The idea is to irrigate about 180,000 hectares of land along the coast (about twice as much as at present), of growing up to 750,000 tons of cereals a year (enough to make Libya an exporter), and of providing grazing for 2m sheep or 200,000 dairy and beef cattle.

It seems a tall order given Libya's unspectacular record as an agricultural producer. Attempts to develop a number of southern oases, notably at Kufra, using the same Saharan aquifers, have been very unsuccessful. Cereal yields were half what had been expected and the cost of production two or three times world market prices. Later moves to develop Kufra as a livestock fattening centre (growing mainly alfalfa) were equally unproductive. A locally-reared Kufra sheep cost six times as much as an imported one in Tripoli.

The Libyans concede these arguments, but say the Kufra experiments demonstrate that coastal agriculture will be successful: the problems of transportation and supply which made desert farming uneconomic will not apply to the Mediterranean littoral. And Libya has been looking for a good use for its natural gas, which is now mostly flared: gas-generated electricity will power the water pumps.

Initial fears that the scheme would deplete the Saharan aquifers have been assuaged. Experts now suggest that natural renewal of the water sources (at 10% of the rate of pumping per year) will be enough to keep the 'man-made river' operational for thousands of years.

An overall worry about the scheme is that much of the water from the man-made river will be diverted from agricultural to urban and industrial requirements. Towns and industry are bound to grow along the coast. Nor is it certain that wheat will be economic in a semi-arid area close to the sea. Perhaps more uncertain is Libya's ability to fund a scheme that will eventually cost, at present values, close to \$20 billion - about twice Libya's present GDP.

#### **Is there enough money?**

As is well documented, Libya has been hard hit by the fall in oil prices: government revenues have fallen from \$20 billion in 1980 to around 8 billion in 1982 and perhaps slightly more than \$9 billion in 1983. Though prestige development projects have been cut back, the five-year development budget still runs to over \$8 billion a year. Libya has had a current account deficit of over \$2 billion each year since 1981. International debt has risen to around \$15 billion; some debt repayments, particularly on purchases of goods and services, have not been met. Libyans have had to take cuts in imports, and in many cases incomes and standards of living.

This has led to a lot of frustration and, if not a popular desire to see Gadaffi retired, at least a popular desire for a curb on the regime's political and economic excesses. So perhaps, paradoxically, Gadaffi has responded to this discontent by announcing his intention to implement the 'man-made river' project in the most public and political manner possible - during an initially little-noticed passage in his speech on September 1st on the fourteenth anniversary of his 1969 revolution.

To some extent the project and its timing can be interpreted as an attempt by Gadaffi to gloss over past failures (particularly in agriculture) and to galvanise his nation for one more project which will hopefully transform the economy. The initial benefits of the scheme will be felt in Gadaffi's own power-base, the area controlled by the Gadadfa tribe around Sirte, where the pipe factory will be built and where eventually the water will flow.

The speed of implementation since September has surprised many people. A headquarters for the 'man-made river' project has been set up in Benghazi and a special operating company, chaired by former housing minister Mohamed Manqoush, has been formed.

Its managing director is **Abdel Hamid** and its planning chief **Nuri Senussi**. The above men are representatives of the moderate technocratic faction which has tangled with revolutionary hardliners throughout Libya's recent past (AC Vol 23 No 15). Their ascendancy has been paralleled recently by the rise of similarly inclined moderates such as **Jeddalah Talhi**, general-secretary of the General People's Congress (last year Talhi stayed at home for some time rather than identify himself with the policies of the regime); **Abdel Ati al Obeidi**, head of the Foreign Liaison Bureau (*de facto* foreign minister); and **Omar Muntassir**, minister of heavy industry.

Only a year ago Gadaffi, with the backing of his Revolutionary Committees, had been reviving his call for the liquidation of his opponents. Now a succession of Libyan envoys are travelling abroad and discussing frankly with dissidents and expatriate businessmen the supposed advantages of returning to Libya. Among the officials recently to have assumed this public relations role is **Hamid al Ghazali**, chief of security, **Col. Younis Bilgazim**, chief of intelligence, and **Ali Naydh**, a prominent Tripoli businessman.

The nearest thing to a revolutionary call in recent weeks has been a concerted press attack on the spending habits and lifestyles of Libyan diplomats abroad. The People's Bureau in London, which was specifically mentioned for its profligacy, has been keeping its head down, as has its chief, **Adam Kweiri**.

Perhaps the most revealing aspect of Libya's new-found moderation is in foreign affairs. It appears that conservative Arab countries, particularly **Saudi Arabia** and to a lesser extent **Morocco**, are using Libya's current economic and political circumstances to draw Gadaffi back into playing a constructive role in Middle Eastern affairs. The somewhat mellowed Gadaffi wants badly to become again acceptable in the Arab world. The period two years ago when he was out in the cold both in the Arab world and in Africa was perhaps a sobering experience.

In June, shortly after the OAU Summit, it will be recalled, Gadaffi toured **North Yemen**, **Saudi Ara-**

**bia**, **Jordan** and **Syria**. It was then that fences began to be mended. An interlude followed when Gadaffi lent his support to the anti-Arafat rebels in the PLO - which was his way of emphasising he still had a role to play in the Middle East.

In September, the Arab rapprochement was renewed when his deputy, **Maj. Abdulsalam Jalloüd** travelled to Saudi Arabia to meet King **Fahd** again. **Gen. Muhammad Saleh el Hammad**, chief of staff of the Saudi armed forces, paid an unexpected visit to Tripoli. This exchange was followed by the Saudi-backed return of **Omar el Meheishi**, formerly Gadaffi's main opponent in exile, from Morocco (AC Vol 24 No 24).

King **Fahd** probably wants to present his middle east peace plan to a forthcoming Arab summit. Presumably he wants to neutralise beforehand all potential wreckers of his proposals. Morocco is supporting him in this initiative, so presumably is America. King **Hassan** of Morocco was instrumental in convincing **Lebanese President Bachir Gemayel** to pay an unexpected visit to Tripoli after visiting **Rabat** in December. Morocco is also in regular contact with Libya over the Western Sahara. In deference partly to Moroccan wishes and partly to a shared fear of Algeria, Gadaffi has cut most of his aid (AC Vol 24 No 24) to **Polisario**.

To complete the picture of Gadaffi's present docility, Libyan involvement in **Chad** has been curtailed, advantage has not been taken of **President Nimeiri's** crisis in Sudan, and even **Egypt** is being wooed by Gadaffi's cousin, **Ahmed Gadafadam**.

One crucial element in the equation which has not been quantified is that Saudi Arabia has promised to contribute to the cost of the 'man-made river', which Gadaffi's envoys have successfully presented during their travels as a project of Arab unity. **Kuwait** is also said to be prepared to contribute to the scheme. The river plan has an American consultant. Perhaps the taming of Gadaffi has been coordinated. What price a Saudi-initiated, American-backed Middle East peace scheme before (or after?) the American presidential elections in November?

## SUDAN

### NUMAYRI'S DECISION TO APPLY SHARI'AH DEFENDED

London AL-NUR in Arabic 2 Dec 83 pp 8, 9

[Article by Husayn 'Uthman Mansur: "Are These Historic Decisions a Political Maneuver, an Inevitable Social Necessity, or an Outright Return to Religion?"]

[Text] We continue to say that the Sudanese media stand powerless before President Numayri's action. The media have failed to keep up with the president to the extent that all of his actions appear as surprises or as if intended to surprise people.

The truth is otherwise. All of the president's moves, if examined, are found to be genuinely democratic, representing the common people not only in the capital but also in the provinces. The media, instead of being a bridge between the base and the top, a link between the people and the leadership and between the people and the president, are an obstacle, a trench, or at times an enemy for both. This can be proven with examples of the treacheries and contradictions with which the media abound.

If we continually criticize the Sudanese media, it is out of concern for Sudan, the Sudanese media, the Sudanese themselves, and for all that is Sudanese. We do not do it because of hatred. Our criticism is constructive and aimed at benefiting our people and not at ruining our media or those who are in charge of the media. Since those individuals, as persons, are considered friends and colleagues, we trust that people understand and believe our intentions.

### A Return to the Beginning

### Media Responsibility and the Attack of the Opposition and Enemies

Some political groups within the Sudanese Government refused to take joint responsibility for the decisions made, and claimed that they were surprised by those decisions. Some international sources and friendly countries also claimed to have been surprised by the announcement of these so-called dangerous decisions. In addition, some groups and associations inside and outside the Sudan were perplexed and reluctant to give those decisions clear support until President Ja'far Numayri visited friendly countries and until the heads and officials of friendly countries visited him and exchanged with

him information and facts about the decisions. That was the duty of the media. As an experienced media man, a nationalist and minister at the Islamic Conference, the vice president supported Mr Salihin's ideas during the Friday sermon.

At a time when our press and media were indifferent and failed to explain the importance of those decisions, no group or organization should have adopted, exercised tutelage over, or utilized them. Some of those groups show their political muscle and foreign financial ties in a "Mercedes rally."

By doing so they unmercifully revealed the depth of the inner struggle and; as a consequence, they unjustifiably drowned the sincere Islamic thrust of the leadership, its patriotism and its Sudanism in a sea of doubts. At this point some newspapers subsidized by foreigners (such as Tadamun magazine) are portraying the revolution, the leadership, and the people in Sudan as lacking independent authority and initiative--puppets on a string--as one would expect in the Third World. The truth is completely different. The decisions are purely Sudanese and Islamic. No country or group has had a hand or an indirect interest in them. To be more specific, the interests are Sudanese and Islamic, emanating from the Koran, prophetic traditions, and Sufism. Read AL-NUR magazine, a product of the Dr al-Sahab al-Jadid Printing Press, which concerns the Koran, prophetic traditions, and Sufism in the Islamic decisions in Sudan.

#### There Was No Surprise There

At his modest library at the government palace--the People's Palace--the number two man in the government, the president's deputy, talked to me, Muslim to Muslim, about the way the Islamic decisions are going. At that time the president was on a visit to Saudi Arabia. He spoke for almost 2 hours in his characteristically composed and convincing manner. Mr 'Umar Muhammad al-Tayyib said: For the past 7 years, since the beginning of the second term, the president has been preparing himself, us, and Sudan for a stable and just Islamic society under Muhammad, God bless him and grant him salvation. Since then the lights of the right road, the road chosen by God for the righteous among people, has become clear in the text of the Constitution, in the Accords, and in the decentralization projects. All of these contain meanings and concepts of Islamic orientation.

The president was forthright with the government leadership, telling them to be exemplars and to declare the JIHAD, the war of the soul.

It so happened that some of the provinces took the initiative, or found themselves and their people ready to make a decision concerning the "capital sin." As a result, they forbade the sale of wine within their borders. The decision of the provinces is based on the Constitution, the Accords, and regional laws. The president blessed their action, and the matter was solved and nobody felt that something unusual had taken place.

For the reader's personal knowledge, the president is supervising the situation closely. He attentively follows and cautiously encourages the

leadership in the provinces. He has one hand on the zealous elements and the other on the brakes of discipline and patience. When he permitted the provinces to prohibit the consumption and sale of wine, he stopped Omdurman's council from making a similar decision because the timing was not sound or practical. Omdurman and Khartoum and its suburbs are practically one city, and it is not feasible to prohibit the sale of wine in one and permit it in the other.

#### Second: Prohibition of Usury

I understand that you [the reader] wrote that this is my area of expertise. You know that the banking revolution started in our country several years ago and that the Sudanese banks have flourished, resulting in the organization of commercial transactions. It was necessary to follow modern banking procedures in a way that pleases God and serves the rights of the Muslim Sudanese. As a consequence the proper authority issued a decision prohibiting usury and in so doing acknowledged the authority of God and the opportunity for legitimate profit using scientific and doctrinal methods.

#### Third: The Islamic Bank

The creation of the Islamic Bank in our country is a clear indication that we are moving on an Islamic road. With the help of God, this road has been chosen by the leader of the revolution, people and country. As an experiment, the Islamic Bank has been very successful. A person following our economic movement easily notices that we are moving according to a well-designed and carefully executed Islamic plan. There should be no cause for surprise, confusion, or advancing the claim that the Islamic decisions came from nowhere. These decisions came to fill a void and build a healthy society free of any imperfections that might damage people or properties or affect their worldly relations and make them incompatible with Islamic laws. Now it is clear what is lawful and what is forbidden.

#### Fourth: The Supremacy of the Koran in Thinking and Behavior

We received the president's instructions faithfully. We brought the light of the Koran into the minds, hearts, and souls of the people. We encouraged the memorization of the Koran. In the last Hegira year, the number of men and women who memorized the Koran rose from 50,000 to 500,000, and we are very thankful. I believe that an increase of that magnitude indicates that an intellectual flame has been born in the country. This is no small or trifling matter. The Islamic decisions were passed at a time when people were ready to understand them, adhere to them, and protect them. These decisions were not, of course, a surprise.

#### Fifth: Promotion of the Islamic Call

The call of the president for the promotion of Islamic ideas on all levels was no secret. Anyone who examines life in Sudan finds a society that is moving forward on an Islamic-planned path. People in Sudan have witnessed a true and active Islamic call. People have lived according to Islamic rules.



Their way of life has become Islamic. The mosques swelled with Moslems, and the religious holidays flourished, as did the Islamic call. The hearts of the young welcomed the call, for they started to attend Friday's prayers and all prayers, even the nonobligatory prayers. During pilgrimage, Sudanese youth constitute the majority of pilgrims. That is God's light that will never eclipse.

#### Important Bits of Information

As two compatriots bound by the love of God and country continued their conversation, the humble, patriotic Muslim official said: As you can see, the announcement of the Islamic laws and decisions were perfectly timed. The Sudanese people have gladly accepted them. The doubts that had been raised emanate from those who spoke of Islam as if it were a product to be bought and sold. Religion should not be permitted to become a stock in trade or a commodity. Religion is for those who believe in it, and its protection falls on everyone who accepts its message. It is not unusual for someone to be alarmed upon realizing that the rug has been pulled out from underneath him.

People should know that the decisions will not be revoked and that religion should not be their monopoly. We help people to own what is theirs. We help them to exercise their religious and worldly rights. We do not violate the will of the people, we do not enslave them in the name of religion, and we do not play with their feelings. God bestows blessings upon his worshippers.

By "complete justice" we intended to place people on an equal footing in society. We released prisoners, and made them free and accountable to God and his laws. For God is the Supreme Judge. Whoever fears God with regard to himself, his property, and other people and their properties is a righteous person. We intended to tell people that the revolution, the people themselves, and the government are supervising them, that we all are supervised by a just, wise, and forgiving God who is also omnipotent, and strikes with vengeance he who does not repent.

At the President's suggestion we are making the laws available to everyone. The armed forces printing house is working 24 hours a day in order to have the laws in the hands of every Sudanese. We are making sure that whoever asks for them gets them.

Both the president and his deputy's staff are trying to explain these laws. This is done by organized debates in which different media branches participate.

Also we are in contact with the World Islamic League in order to hold judicial courses as is done in Pakistan.

During my pilgrimage this year, I met all the heads of the pilgrimage delegations. They were very happy about the president's decisions. They prayed that these decisions may be a blessing for the people of Sudan.

The Kingdom of Saudi Arabia received the announcement of these decisions with satisfaction, and sent Prince Turki, minister of Education, to congratulate Sudan and the president on the occasion of that announcement.

His Majesty King Fahd, received the president of Sudan as usual with open arms. He assured the President that the Kingdom supports Sudan morally and stands behind it whenever the occasion permits.

#### Cultural Struggle

The vice president continued, saying: My friend, it is not unusual for the announcement of these decisions to receive vicious attacks from interest groups and the saboteurs who like to keep the Sudanese soil hostage to obsolete cultures, and outside influences. For example, al-Qadhdhaf: and others tried eagerly to deepen the disagreement between the different regions of the country. They pretend to be religious, but religion washes its hands of them. Some others, seeing their colonialist culture on the wane, and their authority diminishing, wanted to use the decisions to regain power. With great hope they then reconciled their differences with al-Qadhdhafi and world communism in order to create troubles in Sudan. Their work will not affect Sudan at all.

We care about the Sudanese more than anybody else, and we are better able to protect their interests and beliefs on every inch of Sudanese soil. We know we have minorities, and we know how to protect them.

The instructions and orders given to the police are clear and firm. They aim at carrying out the president's decisions in a flexible way in order to give Islam its just and tolerant image.

#### The End of the Session

The session ended but the conversation did not. In the next issue you will find what had been discussed during the second part of the meeting.

Husayn Uthman Mansur  
Editor-in-chief

9786

CSO: 4504/196

## ACTIVITIES OF INDUSTRIAL CONTRACTING ORGANIZATION REVIEWED

Baghdad AL-JUMHURIYAH in Arabic 28 Dec 83 p 7

[Article: "The General Industrial Projects Contracting Organization: An Important Buttress in the Area of Building and Construction"]

[Text] The General Industrial Projects Contracting Organization is to be considered an important buttress in the area of building and construction, as it plays a prominent role in the execution of massive strategic projects which extend to all areas of the country, such as the grain silo and mill projects, the project of the 10 piers at Umm Qasr, and the Baghdad-al-Qa'im-'Akashat railway project.

### 50 Projects

Through our review of the working paper the company has prepared on its activities at present and its future plan, it is nonetheless now carrying out 50 projects costing hundreds of millions of dinars, with a massive staff consisting of Iraqi and foreign technicians, administrators and workers.

In spite of the circumstances of the current stage our fighting country is passing through, standing up to the vindictive Iranian aggression with the utmost bravery and capability under the leadership of the knight of the nation and the hero of national liberation, the staff commander Saddam Husayn, the pace of work on the company's projects is escalating, passing through time in the direction of escalating its sacrifice to support the will to fight and to continue the rate of victories in the glorious war of Saddam's Qadisiyah.

### The Use of Modern Technology

One noteworthy point in the company's progress is that it has relied on modern technology and advanced techniques in its work with the goal of keeping abreast of the movement of science and technology in the world, in the area of building and construction, as it has taken a number of steps in this regard.

It has used the technique of sliding forms to pour the grain silos belonging to the al-Rusafah project, in a record period of 12 days. Its latest step

has been that of the continuous pouring of concrete bridges and walls in the building to operate the Dahuk silo project at the same time.

In addition, computers have been used in the field of such engineering applications as designs and engineering drawing.

The nature of the company's work is connected to a number of important sectors in the country, such as the construction materials manufacturing sector and the commercial sector, and there is coordination among officials in the company and people working in these sectors, in a manner which facilitates the company's work and supports its development projects.

Officials in the company, through its board of directors, are constantly making field visits to the projects it is carrying out with the objective of becoming informed about the rates of construction on them and dealing with obstacles which might hinder their completion.

#### Monitoring the Projects

The company also relies on an advanced system for following up on its projects, which is aimed at collecting basic information on the projects with a brief summary of all of them, and their costs and construction periods.

In addition to that, the company has a new design for information storage in the new information base, and it will complete the establishment of the construction materials system which has been designed as part of the information base for the future. That has the goal of providing information on construction materials in worksites and the amounts of these materials the project requires which are given out and requested, especially iron, wood and cement.

#### An Ambitious Working Paper

The company has included in its working paper a number of recommendations and suggestions which will guarantee that its work is upgraded and that better results are achieved, serving and strengthening the course of development the country is witnessing, such as emphasizing the use of computer engineering applications, especially for design and drawing, as well as computing the final payout of projects, for which there are methods for using computers.

In addition, there is the emphasis on the use of the system of project programming by the critical path method, as that constitutes an effective tool for project planning, while the computer section in the company will be bolstered by people who have university degrees, following their accreditation and training.

11887

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FUNCTION, OPERATIONS OF MILITARY REPAIR FACILITY PRESENTED

Baghdad AL-JUMHURIYAH in Arabic 28 Dec 83 p 8

[Article by Ra'd al-Yusuf: "In This Plant, Technologically Advanced Technical Workshops for Maintaining and Repairing Machines, Artillery and Weapons"]

[Text] The battle against the racist enemy is not restricted to the bearing of rifles and fighting on the battlefronts. Rather, it also comes about through work in the fields, the factories and all areas of life which offer support and backing for our just struggle against the aggression.

Therefore, work at redoubled capacity, and persistence, are of no less importance than combat. Indeed, they are combat, although by other means, a means of guaranteeing the wherewithal for resistance and for continuing to challenge the racist clique ruling in Qom and Tehran, and triumphing over them.

Here, in this factory, workers have been conspicuously active since the first day of Saddam's glorious Qadisiyah, in the shops and the sections or in the advanced technical detachments spread out all along the line of confrontation, where they have worked for long hours, night and day, to prepare tanks and make them fit for carrying on.

The people working with us have managed, with their capabilities and their great concern, to realize very high rates of production. Indeed, they have succeeded in altering a number of parts in an innovative manner.

In order to learn about the actual circumstances, natural environment and importance of the work, we took a tour of the departments and sections, and held numerous meetings with the people in charge of them and the officials in them. Before that we had knocked on the door of the fighting man who is the commander of the factory.

Gaining Time

The fighting man and commander of the factory said, "The factory was opened at the start of the glorious 17-30 July revolution, and it enjoyed great

support from the leaders and officials. That caused it to progress and advance in rapid fashion toward success. Its design at that time was for a low productive capacity, but in following years it was able to realize what were to be considered quantum leaps in the field of work which resulted in multiplying and improving production.

"In the period of the just war, from its first day, the men rushed with closely linked efforts and firm resolve to respond to the call of duty to work. They continued to work night and day and were concerned to exploit every minute to gain time and use it in the service of the struggle.

"In addition to our work at this site, we hastened to open advanced repair centers along the front of honor to repair the tanks and return them quickly to combat against the base racist enemy."

[Question] How would you define your mission?

[Answer] Repairing tanks in general, as well as performing repair work on field artillery and light arms of various types, and also precision equipment used in our heroic armed forces.

Work here is diversified among the branches in accordance with areas of specialization. There are numerous branches through which technicians perform their tasks in carrying out the work, such as the tank and weapons repair, technical, accessory, storehouse and other branches.

#### A Technical Innovation

[Question] How do you provide primary materials for your work? Are you faced with a shortage in them because they are not available?

[Answer] As a result of constant activity, our need for certain unavailable materials would almost have affected the course of our work had it not been for the innovation of the splendid Iraqi technical mind which was anxious to continue the work, and the processes of repairing the weapons continued, so that they could be sent back to the battlefronts.

Our men managed to manufacture these materials and carry out alterations on some machines and equipment, doubling their abilities to function, and therefore we will not be facing any shortage in the supply of raw materials for our work.

#### A School and a Technical Reference Center

By their great care and zeal, they managed to turn the factory into a school for the army and a technical reference center as regards the repair of armor, artillery and light weapons.

Our just struggle against the ignorant racist enemy has had an effective influence in prompting men to look for the ways and means to give them greater capabilities for working and means which will redouble their productivity.

We have technical personnel of high expertise at a high level, which bring tremendous capabilities to bear on the work, and they are able to eliminate all obstacles and difficulties.

In spite of that, you will find that our interest is focussed on the technical aspect, which has experienced a great resurgence. In the factory we start technical development courses on the repair of tanks, light arms, precision equipment and artillery from time to time. This experience has yielded up good fruit and praiseworthy efforts which have helped move the wheel of work forward.

One thing we are proud of is that the factory has obtained the report [sic] and thanks of the department, from which we receive every form of support and attention. A large number of people working with us who are now in the technical detachments at the front have been given increased salaries for their role and their capabilities.

As we review some aspects of our work, we can only assert that our aspirations to participate in our noble struggle are much greater than that and that our readiness to sacrifice and exert ourselves is unlimited, in order to defend immortal Iraq in the framework of our fighting commander Saddam Husayn, the general commander of the armed forces.

#### A New Project

There is a massive project in the factory which is to be carried out in the period shortly to come, and this will have special importance in the life of the factory and the dimensions of the development of work in it.

Concerning this project, and the stages of work on it, the fighting man and engineer who is the assistant commander spoke to us, stating,

"Following our heroic army's effective participation in repelling the vile Iranian aggression, the need arose to develop work in this factory in a manner which would respond to this need. This fact prompted us to search for a new way to bring our work in balance with the requirements of the struggle, if not to develop them beyond these requirements.

"Following the discussions and followup, it was decided that we should start the execution of a new project, which we named the 1982 project of Saddam's Qadisiyah.

"This project consist of four stages, including the transfer of the painting and washing rooms to another location. This was done with great success for the first time in the history of the Iraqi army, when we managed to move the building from one site to another.

"This project assumes major importance which is derived from the fact that it has helped raise the productive capacity in the factory by 120 percent and will provide broader opportunities for work through which we will contribute to supporting our struggle against the racist enemy in a distinctive manner. What inspires happiness in this project of ours is that it is

being carried out with the intrinsic resources and abilities which the people working in the factory possess.

"It is worth pointing out that the work of constructing it has proceeded abreast of the provision of repair services for weapons that are out of order, and that there has been no delay in any of these areas.

"This developmental project was not the first of its kind. Workers carried out another project before that, but at lower productive capacity.

"Through their completion of the latest project, the people in the factory have saved the government very large amounts of money and have asserted their abilities to keep abreast of technical development and to create and innovate.

"In addition, the project has the attention and support of the director of electrical machine engineering, since all the accessories which can make the work on it a success have been made available."

#### The Revolution Factory

The fighting man and technical assistant engineer in the factory talked to us about other aspects, stating, in the course of our meeting with him,

"From the standpoint of quality, our factory is to be considered one of the largest in the area. One should bear in mind that it was opened in 1968, following the glorious 17-30 July revolution. Therefore, we have become accustomed to calling it the revolution factory, and that has become well known among everyone who has a connection with it.

"Work in the factory is characterized by precision and speed. We are concerned to return the tanks and other weapons to the front after they are repaired as quickly as possible, out of appreciation for the importance of their presence in deterring the rapacious aggression which has our territories and the achievements of our revolution as its target.

"Our duties can be summarized as general repairs, and on the basis of the technical documents that have been authorized relative to the tanks, in addition to the repair of field artillery, light weapons, precision equipment and so on, and proceeding from the importance and accumulation of expertise which our personnel have come to possess, our factory has become a technical area of reference in the field of specialization.

"Following the birth of the new project, which will have positive reflections on the level of production and productive capacity, and quality as well, our plant will witness an advanced quantum leap in the area of its activity and the role it will play in serving our just struggle."

#### Distinguished Cases

We took a tour of the section for electrical work on tanks. Everyone was working actively and trying to carry out the work quickly. In the press of



the followup and intense work of restoring life to the parts that had broken down, we met with the fighting man and commander of the section, who spoke to us about their role, stating,

"We, in the section, perform general repairs on the electrical equipment of the tanks in addition to the equipment for balancing the cannons. We are making distinguished efforts in this field, and are anxious to carry out the work as quickly as possible, since we realize the importance of this, and its role, in deterring the waves of Khomeyni's evil.

"As a result of that, we are now able to realize high rates of production. We are constantly trying, through the technical capabilities and abilities our technicians possess, to achieve a quantum leap in the work so that we can redouble our contribution to the struggle of standing up to the Iranian aggression, the glorious battle of Saddam's Qadisiyah.

"In the section, there are distinguished cases of work and innovation which are embodied in the abilities of many of the people belonging to us, at the forefront of whom stand Nafi' Mahdi, Sabah-al-Din Hasan, Jasim Muhammad Hat-tab and Radi Jasim."

#### A Tremendous Response

Before we said goodbye to the fighting men working in the factory, we met with the fighting man and political guidance officer to learn about the most prominent activities in this area from him.

He said, "Our activities are extensive and numerous. Because of them, we have been able to create a tremendous state of enthusiasm which has helped accelerate the rates of work and have moved the job forward.

"Through constant followup, we have sensed great readiness among the people working with us to sacrifice and make efforts to defend dignity, sovereignty and the nation and to demand a greater opportunity to take part in the struggle.

"The people working with us deserve the utmost appreciation, since their response to the call of the nation has been tremendous. This is the state of the person who fights with belief and precise knowledge of the true nature of the aggressive ambitions of the racist Khomeyni and his vindictive racist clique.

"As regards our work, that is going on as thoroughly as it can, through our facilities, which are the radio, the library, meetings, the holding of seminars, the distribution of papers and so forth."

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WORK OF MILITARY COMMUNICATIONS CORPS DISCUSSED

Baghdad AL-JUMHURIYAH in Arabic 31 Dec 83 p 8

[Article: "The Communications Corps: An Important Role in Providing Rapid Communications and Controlling Military Formations"]

[Text] Once I was talking to one of our old officers on the developments which the communications corps has experienced in the context of the revolution, and the heroic acts of the people who belong to the corps, and he talked to me about the history of communications and how the first communications unit in the Iraqi army was formed.

The importance of the communications corps increased after World War One because of the increase in the power of armies and the great areas they occupied in combat. At the beginning it was very easy to convey orders or to give information regarding combat theaters by voice or by sending messengers who would carry such orders or items of information. Now, however, that is no longer possible.

Lighting Candles

I asked him, "However, speed is required in combat and this method is very slow."

He said,

"For this reason, thought was directed to using visual means through agreed upon signals, such as raising flags and boards with numbers on them by day and lighting candles at night. Then messengers who were not on foot started using motorcycles. After that, the methods of communications made rapid great advancement."

He added,

"In our army, the communications section began with the formation of the communications unit, whose name was changed to the communications regiment on 29 September 1932. That regiment was the only one in existence in the Iraqi army at that time. In 1936, another communications regiment was formed, then another, until they became a whole corps."

## The Heart of the Armed Forces

What however, is the picture of the communications corps in the Iraqi army at the present time?

That answer led us to a discussion with the staff major general and director of the communications corps, who started his conversation with us by saying,

"Before I talk to you about our corps, which is distinguished in the technical and combat senses, let me mention a proverb among military commanders, which is 'Communications are the heart of the armed forces, but they attract attention only when they break down.' That has been clearly confirmed to us in our triumphant war against the vindictive Iranian enemy, since the communications corps has played an important role through which it has truly proved that it is the heart and nervous system of the armed forces and cannot become exhausted. What cannot be doubted is that the correct information, competence and precision in the methods of conveying and dealing with it at the right time have been, are still and will remain one of the most important elements for guaranteeing the tightening of control and the avoidance of surprise and for strengthening opportunities for victory on all levels, especially the political and military levels."

### Unique Abilities

[Question] All efforts have coalesced to win victory in our just struggle against the Iranian enemy. Is it possible to learn about the role the communications corps has played?

[Answer] One of the most important tasks this corps undertakes is to provide means for command and control over army formations and to maintain them, which is a characteristic that distinguishes our corps from others. Our corps has carried out tremendous, giant missions and duties in the course of our just war, the war of Saddam's Qadisiyah, since his brave men have proved that they are the pious descendants of the singular men who wrote the most splendid and the greatest of the heroic battles in history.

They have exerted innovative efforts, have offered unlimited sacrifices, have shown unique abilities and have been trusting and confident in their commanders, as they have been the object of the appreciation, honor and praise of the command, headed by the venerable president and staff commander Saddam Husayn, the commander general of the armed forces.

### War of Commanders

[Question] Interest in the communications corps has increased because of its direct influence over the results of combat. Electronic war, or what is called countercommunications, which are now preoccupying military experts in the war, has come into being, and the wars of the future have been given the name of "the war of commanders," or war that ends before it begins. This requires that the corps devote attention to the abilities of the people who belong to it and that it develop them. What has been achieved in this direction?

[Answer] Our corps tries to raise the competence of the people working in it and develop them in an elevated manner, by putting them in advanced developmental technical courses using the most modern advanced military techniques in the world in the communications area. We should not fail to point out that the communications corps, like the other corps in our army, has enjoyed great attention and exceptional care from the command of the party and the revolution, headed by the commander of victory, the president and commander Saddam Husayn, as it has included the development of all aspects of the corps and its technical and training organizations, including the repair shops and specialized research centers in the corps. The communications school for qualifying corps followup officers is considered the most competent institute for accreditation and preparation, since this school relies on the most modern scientific curricula and uses technological equipment and achievements. It also has an excellent elite of technical personnel who have higher degrees. This organization has truly become one of the major military educational institutions in the region and it is on a par with the greatest corresponding institutions in the world in terms of curricula, technical staff and competent communications personnel. Thanks to our wise leaders we have come into possession of the most modern system of military communications in the Middle East, with the ability to work in circumstances of electronic war vis-a-vis an active enemy in the worst conditions.

#### Research Laboratories

[Question] What efforts have you made to develop technical competence among the fighting men in the corps?

[Answer] We are trying to spread technical awareness among the people working in the other non-technical military corps by putting them in advanced courses in our formations so that the information that is obtained by their non-technical units and formations will be used. This will assuredly raise the awareness, competence and readiness of these corps, and its positive yield will be reflected on the development of our heroic armed forces in a comprehensive manner. We also aspire to establish research laboratories to develop the corps' equipment [and] examine it in a manner that will guarantee our forces' requirements, and we have started in fact to establish some of these laboratories and have prepared the most competent technical personnel for them, in the form of specialists and experts. We will provide them with other essential requirements in days soon to come.

#### Training Institutions

[Question] What about the training of fighting men in the corps?

[Answer] We have devoted special attention to training in its general and technical areas, on grounds that it is the backbone for the creation of advanced, developed armed forces which possess broad fighting and technical capabilities, a distinctive spirit and permanent readiness. We have tried to raise the capability of the people belonging to the corps, out of our belief that developing the capability of the fighting men in the communications corps will have a direct effect on the development of the capability of the fighting men in our armed forces. Therefore, we have reorganized all our

training organizations, such as the communications vocational training center and the communications school, and perhaps they are in keeping with modern expertise, suitable curricula and capable teachers, and we can say with most confidence and pride that we now have the best, most competent training organizations in the region. The credit for that goes to the attention of the command of the party and the revolution and the directives of the general command of the armed forces, headed by the triumphant, venerable staff hero Saddam Husayn, the commander general of the armed forces, and his constant support and backing for our corps.

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# MILITARY ENGINEERING CORPS ACTIVE AT FRONT

Baghdad AL-YARMUK in Arabic 1 Jan 84 p 8

[Interview with Staff Brig Gen Hatim Rahumi, assistant director of the Military Engineering Corps, by Husayn 'Umran: "The Fighting Men in Military Engineering"; date and place not specified]

[Text] At the battlefronts, they said,

"We are the first to go in and the last to withdraw."

We said:

"That is unquestionable proof of your great role, which your fighting men are playing in the struggles of honor and dignity."

At the battlefronts, they talked about their duties, saying:

"We are performing military engineering tasks, as well as bearing arms to fight the enemies who are trying, in vain, to sully the pure soil of Iraq."

Therefore the Military Engineering Corps is performing numerous tasks, and many necessary duties lie on the shoulder of its fighting men. In order to learn about the role of military engineering in the battles of glory and majesty, and the development this corps has witnessed since the glorious 17-30 July revolution, we had a meeting with Staff Brig Gen Hatim Rahumi, assistant director of military engineering, who spoke, saying:

"The Military Engineering Corps is a unit that is characterized by movement and flexibility. The fighting men of our corps facilitate the military units' progress toward their objectives and consequently impede the movement of the enemy. We also furnish many engineering tasks for other corps in the army. Therefore, the Military Engineering Corps has received great support from the command of the party and the revolution.

[Question] Could we learn about the various aspects of this support?

[Answer] We can say that before the blessed 17-30 July revolution the Military Engineering Corps was a very small one in terms of personnel and

backward in terms of its old equipment. Following the outburst of the glorious July revolution, and the development which has embraced all fields of life, our corps witnessed great development, in terms of its equipment and its personnel, and the results of this great development have led to a disruption in the balances that had been calculated by the Iranian enemy and by the military experts as well.

The staff brigadier general said, "If we want to get into the details of this development, we can say that the command of the party and the revolution, headed by the venerable staff commander Saddam Husayn, the commander general of the armed forces -- we can say that the wise leadership has provided the modern specialized equipment which has created a quantum leap in the duties we provide for the armed forces. It has also sent many officers on specialized courses to increase their scientific expertise and competence regarding this modern equipment which has fallen within the scope of our corps' activity."

#### A Great Role

[Question] But what are the duties that the fighting men of this corps perform during combat?

The staff brigadier general replied to that by saying:

"The fighting men of this corps carry out numerous tasks, in the course of the heroic units' advance, in order to carry out their duties, or following the withdrawal of our units after they have realized the objective. Most of our duties are on forbidden territory.

"During our heroic forces' advance, in carrying out a given task, the fighting men of the Military Engineering Corps move ahead to facilitate the units' advance by opening up roads and also opening up breaches in minefields and making openings in the water if there are water barriers obstructing our forces' advance toward the attainment of their objective. Following the conclusion of the mission and withdrawal to the rear, the fighting men of the corps remain behind the withdrawing units in order to put out obstacles and maintain the impregnable barriers on behalf of our heroic forces."

The staff brigadier general went on to say,

"There is an important duty which the fighting men of the corps carry out, which is that in addition to performing these engineering duties, they also carry weapons to fight the enemies, and therefore we can see and sense how great the role the fighting men of the corps undertake is."

#### Our Capital: The Iraqi Fighting Man

[Question] Through our tour of the battlefronts, we have seen our heroic forces' impregnable fortifications. Even the Iranian enemy has acknowledged the power of these fortifications, stating "The reason for the failure of our attacks is the power of the Iraqi fortifications and defenses." What is your comment on that?

[Answer] We acknowledge the strength of the fortifications and strong positions in the defensive positions of our forward forces, which are standing most proudly in deterring the Iranian aggression; however, our capital, and the reason for the successive victories the soldiers of the commander Saddam Husayn have won in the battles of honor and dignity, is the Iraqi fighting man himself. What is the value of firm fortifications and powerful defenses without the will of the fighting man, without belief and without a cause for which we can make a defense? We recognize that these fortifications and defenses are only an element which helps the the Iraqi fighting man stand fast in his position. Without the fighting man's will to defend his territory, these fortifications would not be worth anything.

#### The Manufacture of Equipment

[Question] It is well known that the glorious battle of Saddam's Qadisiyah, which we are waging against the expansionist Iranian aggression, has unleashed the powers and innovations of the Iraqis, according to their areas of specification and their positions. What have the fighting men of the Military Engineering Corps offered in this regard? Have you made initiatives to carry that out?

The staff brigadier general replied by saying,

"The principle our corps pursues in the framework of scientific and technical development has been founded on continued study and the persistent creation of scientific, specialized staffs, raising their technical level so that they may be on a par with their equivalents in the advanced armies, in the desire to realize the goal which has been sketched out for this corps.

"On this basis, through this specialized scientific personnel, the fighting men of the corps have taken the initiative of manufacturing some important equipment which falls within the essence of our work and thus we have saved hard currency for our beloved country. Thus, the fighting men of this corps are proving their love and passion for this beloved nation, thinking little of their lives and their blood for the sake of defending it, so that Iraq's territory may remain pure of the filth of the enemies."

#### Field Visits

[Question] But what is the extent to which you have benefitted from the lessons of the war?"

To that, the staff brigadier general replied by saying,

"The president and commander, Saddam Husayn, the commander general of the armed forces, has asserted the need to benefit from the experiences of the war. On this basis, from the first days of our just struggle, which we are waging in defense of the land and the nation, the officers of the department made field visits to the battlefronts to increase capabilities and to learn informed from close at hand of the work of the fighting men of the corps at the front, and consequently to benefit from these field visits in increasing our expertise, on the basis of the lessons that have been drawn from the war.



"We can say that the field visits we have made and the inspection of our units present in the combat areas have had a great, effective influence on the success of our work and consequently the acquisition of this great victory and the preservation of the spirit of victory as well.

"Finally, we can say that the fighting men of this corps, who have offered great sacrifices alongside comrades in arms in the other corps, are pledging their unique commander, the venerable staff commander Saddam Husayn, that they will offer their lives and blood as sacrifice for Iraq and its soil, and they promise what is more honorable than all of us, to proceed forward in the desire to achieve the goals for which they have martyred themselves."

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STUDENT UNION MEETS, ISSUES DECLARATION

Nicosia FALASTIN AL-THAWRAH in Arabic No 497, 25 Feb 84 pp 8-9

/Article: "Palestinian Students: No to Intervention and to Outflanking Attempts"

/Text/ The ninth congress of the General Union of Palestinian Students concluded its conference in the Algerian capital, held from the 12th to the 17th of this month, with a comprehensive political declaration and with the election of 33 members to the Executive Council. The national unity list won this election.

The congress was attended by a number of Palestinian and Algerian officials and the elections were supervised by a joint committee of the World Student Federation and the Algerian Youth /Federation/.

Political Declaration

The ninth national congress of the General Union of Palestinian Students was held in Algiers from 12-17 February 1984. In an atmosphere of positive spirit of responsibility, of full confidence in the inevitability of the Palestinian revolution's triumph and of reaffirmation of the union's commitment to the revolution and its goals and within the framework of the concern for national unity and for the need to bolster it, the congress activities and discussions took place on the background of the political report submitted by the Executive Council to the congress which then referred it to the Political Committee for discussion by the members. Agreement was reached that this political declaration will form the political charter guiding the Federation's political activity and the document on which the Federation's political charters will be based.

The congress of the General Union of Palestinian Students, as a fundamental base of the Palestinian revolution--a base influenced by and influencing the outcome of the revolution's struggle--underlines the following struggle constants that govern the course of our people and our revolution:

1. The PLO is the Palestinian people's sole legitimate representative wherever these people may exist. Therefore, the congress condemns any endeavor at revenge, division or at creating alternatives because such attempts constitute real dangers posing a threat to the accomplishments of our revolution and to the course of our struggle.

2. The congress underlines the need for and importance of abiding by the Palestinian national charter and by the resolutions of the successive Palestinian National Councils /PNC/, especially the resolutions of the 16th session of the PNC which reaffirm the PLO's sole and legitimate representation of our Palestinian people and reaffirm our people's right to repatriation, to self-determination and to the establishment of their independent state.

3. The congress reaffirms abidance by the strategy of the long-drawn people's war, of the armed struggle approach and of escalating the confrontation in the occupied territories to fully establish our people's firm rights and to defeat all the Zionist and imperialist schemes.

4. The congress underlines the need to safeguard the independence of Palestinian decisionmaking and declares its full rejection of subservience, custodianship and containment. The congress also reaffirms its condemnation of all the attempts to interfere in the PLO's internal affairs, regardless of the source of such attempts.

5. The congress reaffirms its full support for our Palestinian people's struggle in the occupied homeland and for their steadfastness in confronting the Zionist occupation, its Judaization and settlement schemes and its methods of suppression and tyranny. The congress further reaffirms the need to rebuild and bolster the Palestine National Front at home so that it may continue the framework for the united struggle of all the Palestinian national forces as an indivisible part of the PLO and as an extension of its struggle.

The congress also condemns all the attempts seeking to create alternatives to the PLO tied to the Zionist occupation authorities, such as the Village Leagues. The congress lauds the struggle of our student masses in the schools, institutes and universities of the occupied homeland and lauds their confrontation of the occupation authorities and these authorities' oppressive measures against our universities and our educational institutes. The congress condemns the suspect endeavors aimed at obstructing this struggle and diverting its national course. The congress greets with pride our masses in the occupied homeland who have been able with their ceaseless struggle and sacrifices to defeat the self-rule plot, the Village Leagues and the desperate endeavors to revive them.

Therefore, the congress urges all the Arab and world democratic and progressive forces to advance all forms of support for the steadfastness of these masses.

The congress paused long to examine the events being undergone by our Palestinian arena and the plots being hatched against it and has reaffirmed the following:

1. It is necessary to bolster Palestinian national unity on sound bases of struggle as a guarantee for confronting and foiling all the attempts seeking to liquidate our people's cause and to obliterate their rights.

2. It is necessary to abide by democratic rules, traditions and methods and to define relations within the framework of the Palestinian revolution and of the PLO, to refer to them in case any conflicts develop within the revolution's body and to condemn, even bring charges against, any party that swerves from

his framework. It is also necessary to reaffirm that resorting to violence and infighting to settle disputes within the revolution's ranks is a deviation from the revolution's rules and ethics.

There is a need to bring about democratic political, organizational, financial and behavioral reforms in the revolution generally and in the base and committees of the PLO within the framework of the PLO and of its legitimate organizations and through democratic methods.

This democratic reform should be channeled to achieve harmony among the bases through democratic rules and principles and through crystallization of the principle of collective leadership and of ending individualism so as to reaffirm abidance by the PLO's political program and resolutions and to condemn any deviation from these resolutions.

The congress discussed the Arab and international political situation in detail. In this regard, the congress stresses the following:

1. Underline the organic bond and strategic alliance of the Palestinian revolution, led by the PLO, and the Arab liberation movement. The Palestinian revolution constitutes one of the vanguards of this movement and of the common struggle waged by the Arab masses against imperialism, its lackeys and its schemes in the area and for the achievement of political and economic independence for all of the area's countries and for democracy and social progress.
2. Determine the relationship between the Palestinian revolution, led by the PLO, and the Arab regimes on the basis of antagonism to imperialism and its schemes, the basis of these regimes' support for the Palestinian national struggle and their commitment to the Palestinian people's firm rights, the basis of considering the PLO the Palestinian people's sole legitimate representative, of observing the independence of Palestinian national decisionmaking, of nonintervention in Palestinian affairs and the basis of securing the Palestinian revolution's right to be present and to struggle on the level of politics, mobilization and organization among the Palestinian concentrations in the Arab countries.
3. The congress condemns the role being played by the reactionary Arab regimes in protecting U.S. imperialist interests in the area and in serving U.S. plans and schemes and, subsequently, in plotting against the Arab masses' rights and interests, in squandering their resources, in suppressing democratic liberties and in striking at national liberation. This reactionary role played by the reactionary regimes inflicts the gravest harm on the Palestinian national struggle in particular. Egypt's human and cultural role and its political position in one of the most important phases of the Arab national struggle and as leader of the Arab liberation movement's confrontation against imperialism and Zionism has been eliminated. Al-Sadat's visit to Jerusalem and his conclusion of the Camp David accords came to put an end to this role. Therefore, the emphasis must be put on developing relations with the Arab masses of Egypt and with Egypt's national movement and on strengthening the struggle to rid Egypt of the Camp David accords and their supplements so that Egypt may resume its natural place in leading the national struggle for Arab liberation. While we

believe that the struggle of the Egyptian national forces has achieved some success, we stress that the aspects of the Egyptian regime's policy have not changed and that the regime still reaffirms its abidance by the Camp David accords and their consequences. In light of this, we reaffirm our abidance by the resolutions of the 16th session of the PNC and /call for/ establishment of relations with the Egyptian regime on the basis of its abandonment of the Camp David accords. As for the Jordanian situation, proceeding on the basis of the special relationship binding the Palestinian and Jordanian peoples, we assert that the future relationship with Jordan must be founded on the basis of confederal relations between the independent Palestinian state, upon its establishment, and Jordan and on the basis of abidance by the PNC's resolution in this regard. Emphasis must be put in this respect on rejecting authorization, deputization or participation in the right to represent the Palestinian people. We must note here the need for caution toward the moves being made by some Palestinian circles tied to the /Jordanian/ regime's plans to outflank the PLO's representation of the Palestinian people with the support and blessing of some Arab reimages tied to U.S. policy in the area. In this context, we warn of the true intentions of the Jordanian regime's recent call for reviving the Jordanian parliament and what this call means as a sword hanging over the neck of the PLO to wrench away its representation of the Palestinians. We must reaffirm our absolute and firm adherence by the PLO as the sole legitimate representative of our people and of their legitimate national rights to repatriation, self-determination and the establishment of their independent state.

At the Lebanese level, the congress underlines its support for the Palestinian revolution's principled position of full backing for and solidarity with the struggle of the Lebanese masses and of the national and progressive forces. The congress calls for bolstering this position at all the levels, with all means and on the basis of the common struggle to liberate Lebanon completely from the Zionist occupation, to foil the 17 May accord between the Lebanese regime and the Zionist entity, to safeguard Lebanon's unity, sovereignty and Arabism, to guarantee its democratic constitution, to protect the Palestinian masses living in Lebanon and to insure their human and social rights. In this regard and on this basis, the congress lauds the struggle being waged by the Lebanese national resistance and by the national forces and the important accomplishments they are achieving and the defeats they are inflicting on the imperialist-Zionist-isolationist scheme in Lebanon in order to safeguard Lebanon's unity and to fight all the endeavors for sectarian domination.

As for the Iraq-Iran war, it has been one of the fundamental factors in fragmenting Arab effort by exhausting human and military capabilities and resources and by preventing Iraq from performing its role of participating in the confrontation against the Zionist enemy and the U.S. scheme in the area. The imperialist and reactionary forces have exploited this war to weaken the Arab national liberation movement, to create side-conflicts among the area's states, to exhaust their resources and to use the war as a justification to spread their influence. While appreciating Iraq's response to the peaceful efforts exerted by the various regional and international circles and organizations, we stress the need to unite Arab and international efforts to put an immediate end to this war on the basis of safeguarding the rights of both sides and the basis of good neighborly relations and of nonintervention in domestic affairs.

As for the Palestinian-Syrian relationship, in view of the geographic and political position of Syria, of its influential role in the course of the Palestinian revolution, of its political weight and of the high vigilance of the struggling Syrian masses which enables them to interact with all political events and to respond to the Palestinian revolution with all its organizations-- in view of this, the congress believes that the relationship with Syria must be founded on the following bases:

1. Full Syrian recognition of the independence of Palestinian national decision-making and end to the attempts at direct intervention in the Palestinian revolution's internal affairs and in its political program, especially in connection with the establishment of the independent Palestinian state.

2. The formulation of a joint action program to confront the enemy's schemes in the area, particularly on the Lebanese and Palestinian arena, and the actual coordination of all other issues concerning both sides. In the course of talking of Syria, the congress condemns strongly the Syrian regime's behavior toward brother Abu 'Ammar, the general commander of the Palestinian revolution forces, and his deportation from Syria by virtue of what he represents at the Palestinian, Arab and international levels as a symbol of our people and their revolution. The congress finds it necessary to pause before the bloody events of Tripoli. From a position of national responsibility and in defense of the Palestinian revolution and the PLO, the ninth national congress has paused long before the criminal operation carried out against our camps in North Lebanon and against the heroic city of Tripoli and before the attempts to control independent Palestinian decisionmaking, to destroy the PLO and to create a feeble leadership to replace the legitimate leadership. In light of the political dangers of this criminal act, the congress has condemned totally and firmly the treacherous attack against the camps and Tripoli and has also condemned the forces taking part in this assault with Libyan-Syrian support and participation and under the canopy of absolute Arab silence. All of this has dealt the revolution a major blow, forcing it to move its forces out of Lebanon at a time when the situation requires a united force to confront the invading imperialist-Zionist scheme. Therefore, and despite our condemnation of the treacherous assault, we stress the need for efforts to return the Palestinian forces to the position that permits them to fight their enemies on the path of achieving the national objectives of liberation, to defeat the imperialist scheme and to expel the Zionist occupier and the multinational forces. The congress has also paused before the plans projected in the Arab and international arenas. Insofar as the Fez plan is concerned, the declaration underlines the need to deal with this plan in a manner that serves our struggle, emphasizing adherence to the military option.

The congress has condemned the reactionary attempts seeking to exploit the Fez plan for ends that do not serve our national cause.

As for the visit of brother Yasir 'Arafat, the chairman of the PLO Executive Committee and the general commander of the Palestinian revolution forces, to Cairo, it represents an individualistic act violating the PLO's organizational frameworks and institutions. While we adhere to the Pnc's resolutions, especially the resolutions of the PNC's 16th session, and to the PLO's legitimate

institutions, we find that these institutions are required to evaluate the visit and to make known its outcome, considering that these institutions control Palestinian relations on the basis of adherence to the political program and to PNC resolutions.

The congress has also paused before the international situation. In this regard, the congress believes that the intensifying imperialist-U.S. onslaught in our area and in the entire world against struggling peoples and against Arab national liberation movements, this onslaught's use of force and of the occupation of territories, as in the case of Grenada, its determination to disseminate nuclear weapons in West Europe, its escalation of the armaments race and its threat to world peace and security requires us to reaffirm, from our position of antagonism to U.S. imperialism and its policy, our rejection of this onslaught and of all the imperialist attempts to turn our area into an area of imperialist influence. The most evident proof of this is perhaps the military intervention in Lebanon and the conclusion between the United States and the Zionist enemy of the strategic treaty seeking to turn the Zionist entity into the striking arm of U.S. imperialism in the area. There is no doubt that the continued U.S. attempts to impose U.S. plans on the area under the pretext of establishing peace reflect the determination of the United States to turn our area into an area fully controlled by the United States.

The congress reaffirms its condemnation and rejection of all the projected U.S. plans, led by the Reagan plan which does not reflect the aspirations and hopes of our Palestinian people which are embodied in their firm and inalienable rights.

The congress appreciates and reaffirms the need to bolster the Palestinian revolution's relations with the socialist countries, led by the friendly Soviet Union. The congress also stresses the need to strengthen the relationship with the democratic and progressive forces of Western Europe which support our cause and acknowledge our firm national rights. It further reaffirms the need to strengthen the relationship with the PRC. We laud here the position of the friendly Greek Government and people who have never hesitated to advance all forms of support and backing for our Palestinian cause. The congress underlines its solidarity with the struggle of the struggling peoples and with the national liberation movements striving for liberation and stability, such as the SWAPO Movement, and with all the struggle African peoples. The congress further reaffirms its solidarity with the struggle of the liberation movements and peoples of Latin and Central America in El Salvador and Guatemala and condemns all the dictatorial and fascist regimes in Chile, Uruguay and other countries. The congress also condemns the U.S. and fascist military intervention in Nicaragua and the attempts to topple the Sandinista revolution and its great accomplishments. The congress also stresses its solidarity with the Cypriot people and supports their struggle for the unity of their territories, for their national independence and for the departure of all foreign forces from their territories. It also condemns the plan declared recently by Denktash to set up a state on the northern part of the island.

## PALESTINIAN AFFAIRS

### PLO EXECUTIVE COMMITTEE MEMBER DISCUSSES FACTIONAL DISPUTES

Nicosia FALASTIN AL-THAWRAH in Arabic No 497, 25 Feb 84 pp 11-13

/Interview with Mahmud Rida 'Abbas /Abu Mazin, PLO Executive Committee member, by Ziyad Abu al-Hayja': "No International Initiative This Year"; in Bucharest, date not specified/

/Text Bucharest--Brother Abu Mazin, PLO Executive Committee member and member of the Fatah Central Committee, stopped over for 2 days on his way and has spoken to FALASTIN AL-THAWRAH on the most important issues.

#### Full Agreement With Soviets

/Question Yesterday you were in Moscow as part of the Palestinian delegation headed by brother Abu 'Ammar to take part in the funeral of the departed Soviet leader. We beg you to put us in the picture of the meetings which took place with the Soviet comrades in particular and with the other delegations which participated in the funeral.

/Answer Numerous meetings were held with the delegations coming from the various countries to offer their condolences. We had meetings with President Castro, President Ziaul Haqq and the chairmen of the Nicaraguan, Mongolian, Argentine and Iraqi delegations and of the Israeli Communist Party delegation. A high-level meeting was also held between brother Abu 'Ammar and the Soviet Communist Party Central Committee and Afro-Asian Solidarity Committee. It was a long meeting in which all the hot points and issues being experienced by the Palestinian cause were discussed. Also discussed were Palestinian-Soviet relations, the means to strengthen and develop them and joint future action. Agreement was reached on all the details.

We have noticed that the most important issue worrying the Soviet comrades is the issue of Palestinian national unity. They feel that it is their duty to exert ceaseless efforts with all the parties concerned to develop, entrench and strengthen this unity. They consider Palestinian national unity a central point in the Palestinian revolution's life and believe that the continued activity of the PLO's legitimate institutions--the Executive Committee, the Central Council and the National Council--are a sign of the constant healthiness of the Palestinian revolution. They also believe that the PLO's legitimate leadership, headed by brother Yasir 'Arafat--the symbol of the Palestinian people



and the PLO chairman--must be bolstered. This is one point. The second point is that they deem it beneficial to reassess the relationship between the Palestinian revolution and Syria on new bases. They deem it necessary to normalize this relationship, of course, and they will play a prominent role in this respect.

A number of political points and moves were also discussed, beginning with brother Abu 'Ammar's visit to Egypt, Palestinian-Jordanian relations, Palestinian-Arab relations, the conference for solidarity with the Palestinian people which will be held in Cairo and ending with other issues and topics that concern us and concern them.

I can say that a plan has been drawn up for continued coordination and consultation between us and the Soviet comrades.

No International Initiatives This Year

/Question/ There are conflicting opinions on what developments 1984 will bring about. There are those who expect a hot confrontation and those who expect political solutions. What do you expect?

/Answer/ We view 1984 as the year of a political freeze. We do not believe that any solution for the Palestinian issue will be presented by international circles.

Insofar as the Americans are concerned, they always turn to domestic issues when the election campaign begins. The U.S. administration neglects the external issues intentionally. Generally, the U.S. administration has no clear solutions for the Palestinian issue.

We do not believe that this year is the year of solutions. But it must be a year of political movement, the year of preserving the Palestinian revolution's political capabilities and the year of preparing for the future, of intensifying information and political activity and of putting the Palestinian house in order to restore the unity and the bond on the basis of uniting all the independent Palestinian organizations in the PNC /Palestinian National Council/, proceeding in this regard from the principle of the independence of Palestinian decisionmaking.

/Question/ It is noticed that since brother Yasir 'Arafat's and the fighters' departure from the city of Tripoli there has been no official Lebanese, Israeli or U.S. talk about withdrawal of the Palestinian forces from Lebanon, keeping in mind that some forces and factions are still present there.

/Answer/ What is meant by the Palestinian forces present in Lebanon are those forces that receive their orders from the Palestinian command. In their entirety, these are the forces that were in Lebanon under the command of brother Abu 'Ammar and the other brothers in the command. Most, not to say all, of the remaining forces are under the command of the Syrian forces that can give these Palestinian forces the order to withdraw from Lebanon immediately and these Palestinian forces will obey the command. This is why no consideration is given

to these forces. In fact, there is now talk of Syrian and Israeli withdrawal from Lebanon because the independent Palestinian element has withdrawn in its entirety. Even though there are still some independent forces, such as the Democratic Front forces, they are incapable of forming a Palestinian situation and not capable of standing fast in the face of any decision asking them to obey specific orders, i.e. confronting a Syrian decision.

Relations With Democratic Front and Popular Front

Question Your meeting here in Bucharest with comrade Nayif Hawatimah has come within the framework of the Fatah leadership's dialogue with the Palestinian organizations. It is noticed that brother Abu 'Ammas has not yet directly participated in the trilateral dialogue going on between Fatah, the Democratic Front and the Popular Front.

Answer The Fatah movement's Central Committee has delegated for this dialogue a number of its members, namely: Brother Abu Iyad, brother Abu al-Hawl and myself. I would like to say in this respect that we have no disagreement with the Democratic Front insofar as the comprehensive view of the events taking place in the area and the political analysis are concerned. However, there is sharp disagreement between us and the Popular Front which, we notice, is moving with accelerated steps toward the secessionist al-inshiqaqi plan and which does not conceal its sympathy of this plan, keeping mind that we always take this front into consideration whenever we speak of Palestinian national unity.

The next few weeks will define and separate the positions. Therefore, the Popular Front must say its word on this issue. It either aligns itself with Palestinian national unity or returns to its previous position to embody a model of nihilist rejection that does not represent anything on the Palestinian arena.

It seems as if it might move in this direction because it has launched a violent assault on Fatah, both on the leadership and the cadres. This assault is likely to intensify the disagreement between us. We still have some optimism to say this front will perhaps regain its senses as it did in 1979 when it returned to the fold and marched in the procession of national unity. Otherwise, this front will be the only loser because national unity has existed and will continue to exist with or without it.

Question The Popular Front expresses reservations on taking part in a meeting which will be attended by brother Abu 'Ammar. At the beginning, it circulated reports on similar reservations in the Democratic Front. Has this issue been discussed in the trilateral dialogues?

Answer We in Fatah's Central Committee reject such reservation. This is an unjustifiable question mark aimed against brother Yasir 'Arafat. We believe that such a reservation regarding brother Abu 'Ammar is a reservation against Fatah's Central Committee in its entirety. Consequently, we hold dialogue with the Popular Front on few occasions, disregarding such reservations because we consider them childish stances.

As for the Democratic Front, it has not informed us and we have not heard from it that it has reservations. Brother Yasir 'Arafat was elected PLO chairman in the PNC. Whoever has observations regarding his behavior would be better to express such reservations within the legitimate institutions.

Vituperation through the information media is not a democratic way and does not serve national unity. If the Popular Front persists with this reservation, then this is its business and it is free in this regard.

In fact, we have risen above responding to vituperation expressed by the Popular Front in AL-HADAF because we have gotten used to this method on the part of the Popular Front which always depends on this (vituperation) as a basis for its continuity.

/Question/ Don't you think that the new signs displayed by the Popular Front's position are in response to external pressures, i.e. pressures from outside the front?

/Answer/ It is indubitable that the Popular Front has received threats to splinter it the way the Palestinian Liberation Front has been splintered. This may be a reason behind the Popular Front's positions. However, principled issues must not be allowed to become the subject of bargaining and the front's policy must not be governed by such considerations.

We Extend Our Hand to Syria on Basis...

/Question/ In light of your discussions in Moscow and of the readiness of more than one circle friendly to the PLO and Syria, is there new movement in the direction of improving Palestinian-Syrian relations?

/Answer/ Despite what happened in Tripoli, brother Abu 'Ammar stood at the Islamic conference in Casablanca, extending his hand to all the Arab leaders to forget the past and to turn over a new leaf. We have declared repeatedly to all the friends and brothers eager to restore our relationship with Syria that we are prepared to begin the dialogue with Syria immediately on sound and clear bases that approve the Palestinian revolution's right to free movement, considering that the Palestinian issue is a pan-Arab issue. But when we speak of independent Palestinian decisionmaking, we mean that decision on which the Arabs agree unanimously and not the individual decision taken by us or by others. On this basis, we extend our hand to Syria and to others.

/Question/ Can we consider the fact that brother Abu al-Lutf has gone to Damascus an indication of a relative improvement in relations?

/Answer/ Brother Abu al-Lutf has returned to Damascus because the headquarters of the Political Department is still in Damascus and because his family is still in Damascus. His going to Damascus is a sign of goodwill on our party intended to reaffirm that we are ready to turn a new leaf with the Syrian brothers. If they are ready, then we are also ready to send a high-level delegation to begin the dialogue.

## Relationship With Jordan

/Question/ The question concerning the relationship with Jordan is two-pronged:

First, is there a connection between the presence of brother Hani al-Hasan in the United States and the presence of King Husayn there on a visit at the same time?

Second, what about brother Abu 'Ammar's visit /to Jordan/ about which talk started in the press immediately after his departure from Tipoli?

/Answer/ First, regarding brother Hani al-Hasan. He was scheduled to go to the United States a year ago to follow up on some issue with our movement's organization there. The U.S. administration had continually refused to issue a visa to him or to any brother in the leadership. Recently, he was able to get a visa and he was permitted entry. So he went to deliver lectures, attend symposiums and attend to organizational work in the United States. His visit has absolutely no connection with King Husayn's visit. If al-Hasan wants to visit King Husayn, he can visit him in Amman.

As for brother Abu 'Ammar's visit to Jordan, it comes within the framework of the visits brother Abu 'Ammar makes to the Arab, African and socialist countries. However, Jordan has a distinguishing characteristic as a result of the interwoven Palestinian-Jordanian relations and interests, especially since the PNC has actually approved the establishment of a confederacy between an independent Palestinian state and Jordan. But I am certain that no agreement on a political solution will be achieved in this visit because this year is not, as I have already said at the outset of this interview, the year of political solutions. There is no sign of such solutions on the horizon. This is why we must put this visit in its natural place, without adding to it or subtracting from it, and why we should not burden the issue with more than it can withstand.

As for the interpretations of those who interpret according to their wishes, these interpretations will not prevent us from moving. If we were to submit to this mob, we would shackle ourselves and put a stop to all political and diplomatic activity. We work for the interest of our people and we have enough self-confidence not to pay attention to these impediments.

## National Unity

/Question/ It is obvious that new bases have begun to be established for national unity. There are numerous viewpoints regarding the bases and form of this national unity. What is your view?

/Answer/ There is a difference between participating in the PNC and the structure of the organization's Executive Committee.

Regarding participation in the PNC every member, regardless of his connection and affiliation, has the right to attend the PNC and to express his opinions and positions. Membership in the PNC is sacred and nobody can abolish the membership of a member, except within the rules. This means that the

organizations that carried arms against the PLO in Tripoli have the absolute right to participate in this council. But we also have the absolute right to agree or refuse to cooperate with these organizations within the Executive Committee. Without dwelling on the details, this is our opinion which will be crystallized further in light of the results produced by the PNC.

/Question/ Will Fatah ask the PNC to vote on the membership of these organizations?

/Answer/ I say that this is subject to the council's rules and laws. We believe that these /organizations/ have betrayed the Palestinian people and we will deal with them in light of the PNC laws. Of course, it is the right of every popular organization or group to change its representatives in the council.

Executive Committee Chairman's Place

/Question/ Since the departure from Beirut, it has become evident that the plot is taking the form of a direct attack against the person of brother Abu 'Ammar. The rabid campaign against him has been going on before and after the split and before and after /the departure from/ Tripoli. Why, in your opinion, is this emphasis?

/Answer/ Brother Abu 'Ammar is the Palestinian symbol that has emerged through constant struggle for the past 20 years. It is well known that ousting brother Abu 'Ammar from the PLO is a preparatory step for ending independent Palestinian representation and ending the sole representation we have gained against the will of many of the Arab regimes and against the will of all the western countries. These forces hope that in case brother Abu 'Ammar is ousted from his position, the Palestinian arena will again split into scattered factions and parties, as it was in the 1950's, without a head, without leadership and without representation and with each state claiming that it represents our people, each state claiming that it is the one with the main role in the cause and with the outcome being loss of the cause among the regimes.

This is the objective of the rabid campaign directed against brother Abu 'Ammar and, consequently, against the Fatah movement because Fatah is the mainstay protecting sole representation and independent Palestinian decisionmaking, which is the target of all those seeking to destroy this decision and to take us back to the years of aimlessness.

As a result of a long struggle, our people have scored just one victory, namely that they have returned to the international political map as people with well-known representatives and with legitimate and firm rights. These representatives are the people who defend these rights and who work to achieve them. If this representation comes to an end, the defenders will come to an end and every regime "will claim a connection with Layla" whereas none of them has a connection with this Layla.

## Abu 'Ammar's Visit to Cairo

/Question/ Fatah's Central Committee has issued more than one statement on brother Abu 'Ammar's visit to Cairo. Some circles from outside Fatah have considered these statements tantamount to political condemnation of the visit and other circles have considered them a mere attempt to absorb the anger. In your capacity as a member of the Central Committee, can you give us an explanation?

/Answer/ The statements issued by the Central Committee in the wake of the visit have only pointed out the organizational violation committed within the context of the visit. But the statements have not condemned the visit politically. These statements have been very clear. However, there have been numerous attempts to interpret them and we pay these interpretations no attention.

The visit has taken place and we must take advantage of it. We must work to achieve our goals in freedom from all the self-rule and selfadministration plans which we have rejected and will continue to reject and in freedom from the Reagan plan which we have rejected and will continue to reject.

Our goal is for Egypt to return and to steer away from the Camp David policy. This is what we should do and this is what the Arabs should do.

Who is Abu Mayzar?

/Question/ 'Abd-al-Muhsin Abu Mayzar is still making and issuing statements as the organization's official spokesman even though he continues to boycott the Executive Committee meetings. In your capacity as a member of the PLO Executive Committee, don't you think that this constitutes a deviation from the traditions of collective action?

/Answer/ The PLO official spokesman does not reflect his opinion and positions. He is supposed to reflect the gist of the Executive Committee's discussions and resolutions when the committee meets. Otherwise, he has no right to speak. Abu Mayzar has boycotted the Central Committee meetings for reason that we all know. Therefore, every word he has said since boycotting the meetings is in his personal name only and does not reflect the opinion of the PLO's Executive Committee. Abu Mayzar has greatly exceeded his duties.

In accordance with the Executive Committee rules, Abu Mayzar's membership in this committee is supposed to be suspended and his status as official spokesman canceled. We all know who Abu Mayzar is and what the opinions he reflects are. This is why we do not give his opinions or positions any consideration.

## Enemy Society

/Question/ Will 1984 witness an increase in the volume of emigration from Israel at a time when it seems as if immigration to Israel has almost stopped in recent years?

/Answer/ The issue of emigration is an old and new issue. We should never forget that the nature of the Israeli society is built on immigration and that this society's life and death lie in this particular issue. We notice these days that because of the deteriorating economic conditions, reflected in increased indebtedness, an inflation of 200 percent and rising taxes, emigration has been rising automatically while the immigration coming to Israel has been diminishing by a large degree. All this is due to the deteriorating political, economic and social conditions in the Zionist entity. Add to this the constant military drain in South Lebanon. But regrettably, we are exerting no direct positive effort to intensify the emigration and to reduce the immigration coming to Israel so that we may deal Zionist society some sort of a blow as part of the struggle against this settlement-oriented gathering in Palestine.

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SOVIET RELATIONS DISCUSSED BY CHARGE D'AFFAIRES

Sanaa AL-THAWRAH in Arabic 24 Jan 84 p 5

[Interview with 'Abdallah al-Masajidi, Yemeni charge d'affaires in the Soviet Union by 'Ali al-Ashmuri: "Our Relations with the Soviet Union Are Long-standing and Well Developed; Soon a New Cultural Protocol Will Be Signed;" in Moscow, date not specified]

[Text] I had prepared myself previously to meet with Professor al-Adib 'Abduh 'Othman our ambassador in Moscow, but because of his preoccupation with diplomatic affairs I decided not to meet with him due to the limited remaining time before take-off from the Moscow Airport to our homeland, so I took advantage of the occasion and headed towards the office of the charge d'affaires, Doctor 'Abdallah al-Masajidi, known for his prominent past, having carried a weapon at the age of not more than 17 when he was still a student in a school for orphans. Yes, he carried a weapon and participated with his comrades in the '48 revolution to rescue the people from ignorance, deprivation, disease, and the myths of the imams which had become stamped on the minds and hearts of the sons of the Yemeni people for a long time, this revolution which had a great effect on world and Arab liberation movements and which awoke the Yemeni people from their deep lethargy to lead the revolution for the abstractions of freedom, democracy, and progress. It was the Glorious 26 September Revolution which rescued the Yemeni people from what had oppressed them and planned the path to a prosperous future and the structure of modern Yemeni society. Here are the results of my meeting with him:

[Question] Could you possibly give us an idea about your work as minister plenipotentiary and charge d'affaires?

[Answer] As minister plenipotentiary, I assist Ambassador 'Abduh 'Uthman in his duties and that is the nature of this position in any embassy, and let us not forget that charges d'affaires are considered to be the number two men in embassies who are delegated the task of running the embassy in the absence of the heads of legation, in addition to the role requested of them at normal times such as fostering friendly relations between themselves and their counterparts and with whomever else they can establish relations especially with officials in the host country. That is considered to be one of the most important fundamentals of diplomatic activities which reflects a vital picture of one's country abroad. How happy I am that the embassy staff starting with my comrade



Ahmad Jabran right down to the lowest employee forms a cooperative team directed by the ambassador, and this increases the opportunities of success in order to improve and develop our relations with our friend the Soviet Union.

[Question] What is your evaluation of Yemeni-Soviet relations and what results characterized the visit of the president to Moscow?

[Answer] Relations between the Yemen Arab Republic and the Soviet Union are considered to be a model for relations because the basis for these relations is deep and strong. Indeed Yemen was the first Arab country to establish relations with the Soviet Union and the history of its establishment goes back to 1928, and therefore the Soviet Union gives an important position to these previous relations which have become a part of the history of the two countries; an indication of that is the commemoration of this occasion in both of the friendly nations, and soon the mass media will undertake to commemorate the passing of 55 years since the foundation of these relations.

As for the results which characterized the visit to the Leader President, the General Secretary of the General People's Congress, Col 'Ali 'Abdallah Salih to Moscow, they typified the understanding of the Soviet Union for the policy of the Yemen Arab Republic represented by its president, Col 'Ali 'Abdallah Salih and which received the respect of the Soviet Union as well as its esteem and interest for this political track, aside from indicators which support this matter such as the representation of the Soviet Union by a delegation participating in the 21st anniversary of the revolution headed by the minister of health, a visit by the Soviet minister of justice along with an accompanying delegation and his visit to most of the areas of the Yemen Arab Republic and his impressions concerning that visit which the Soviet mass media have been carrying. In general, the Yemen Arab Republic enjoys closer ties after the visit of the president to this friendly nation.

[Question] What agreements have been signed or will be signed between the Yemen Arab Republic and the Soviet Union?

[Answer] In regards to agreements which have been signed, to the best of my recollection Yemen signed agreements of cooperation in 1955 for the building of a new port and an agricultural project in Wadi Sardud; in 1964 economic agreements were signed as well as cultural, agricultural, health, and other agreements, all of which I do not currently recall.

As for agreements which will be signed in the future, since I am new to this work here I cannot answer this, even though I am expecting that a new cultural protocol agreement will be signed soon which would enable Yemen to obtain more educational scholarships. However, this depends upon the activities of officials in the Ministry of Health and Education.

[Question] Does the Soviet Union have a role in the rapprochement of the two halves of Yemen, and if so, what role did it play and what role is it playing currently?

[Answer] Personally, I believe that the rapprochement between the halves of Yemen results from the maturity and consciousness of the leadership of the halves in regard to the dangers which await the Yemeni people if the estrangement and painful convulsions, which are meaningless, were to continue. It is no exaggeration to say that in view of what has occurred in Lebanon and the situation of the Palestinian crisis the halves of Yemen have arrived at a garden with the fruit of maturity and the consciousness of the leadership of the two halves. It now is enjoying its benefit, and its shining hope is alive now and for the future. The Soviet Union as a country friendly to Yemen, all of Yemen, is consequently zealous in winning the friendship of all the people of Yemen and the friendship of all is preferable to that of a part. The position of the Soviet Union as to the rapprochement of the halves agrees with its principles, according to which it continually calls for the unity and freedom of the people.

If the Soviet Union has undertaken a large role in stopping the fighting between the warring Palestinian national forces which were fighting among themselves outside of Palestinian territory, then its role would be greater when brothers engage in internecine fighting on their own soil. Based on this starting point we have confidence that the role of the Soviet Union is of the forefront of those offered by friendly nations. The Yemeni people, as we know, are no less faithful to the Soviet people as the Yemeni people are sincerely friendly and therefore they do not forget kindness in any case when a friend or brother offers him the same.

Whatever role the Soviet Union plays in the future, I believe that it can be no more than what we ourselves as Yemenis strive for on the level of the leaderships of the halves, and that does not mean a diminishing of the role of the Soviet Union in the matter of realizing all that has to do with the unity of Yemen and the united good of Yemen, and we sanction any role serving the unity, prosperity, and independence of our country.

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DEPLETION OF WATER RESOURCES, METHODS TO REVERSE THIS TREND EXAMINED

Sanaa AL-THAWRAH in Arabic 1 Feb 84 p 3

[Article by Riyadh Shimsan: "Sanaa Reservoir Is Threatened by Depletion, Caused by Well Drilling on the 'Ashwa'iy ah Road"]

[Text] In an interview Engineer Mohammad 'Ali al-Fusayl, Director of the General Organization for Water and Sewers spoke to AL-THAWRAH about the quality of drinking water and said that subsurface water in Yemen is considered to be clean and healthy as has been indicated by chemical and bacteriological analyses. He also said:

The General Organization for Water and Sewers is proceeding towards the establishment of water treatment labs and stations to examine and treat water before it is pumped to major cities to assure a high level of cleanliness for drinking water which is necessary to meet the needs of the major urban areas.

Al-Fusayl defined in his interview the factors for assuring a water supply in the future as follows:

--The presence of surface and sub-surface water in large amounts permitting their economical exploitation.

--The presence of resupply sources for water sources such as rivers, seasonal rains to the extent that the percentage of resupply is equal to the percentage of consumption or of drawdown at least.

--Presence of ideal usage of this natural resource in a sound, scientific manner and the establishment of deterring penalties to prevent waste, depletion, or misuse, and this is considered to be one of the most important basic factors which assures continued supply of water now and in the future.

From this starting point the General Organization for Water and Sewers directed its concern towards the necessity of carrying out scientific studies, concerning the provision of pure, healthy water for Sanaa, Ta'izz, al-Hudaydah, Ibb, Dhamar, and the rest of the major cities in the governorates of the republic. The organization is still striving to expand and develop its projects in these cities in keeping with their growth and population expansion.

Replying to a question about how to preserve drinking water, al-Fusayl said:

Since water is considered to be one of the most important daily requirements of life, preserving it from waste and misuse is considered to be of absolute importance. Subterranean water sources in Yemen are suffering from critical conditions, and we are witnessing today the waste, exhaustion and misuse of this wealth, especially in the Sanaa basin where people have rushed to drill deep wells in order to plant qat and then to pump great amounts of water, believing that their agriculture depends upon a constant water resource which is not subject to changes in the supply of run-off in the different stream beds.

However these citizens should realize that they are unconsciously exhausting this natural resource the value of which cannot be reckoned; God ordained that it be stored deep inside the earth to be a source of goodness and a means for wide economic and social development. With this exhaustive pumping, they are converting this blessing which God bestowed upon them into a misfortune.

Have they caused the exhaustion of subterranean water, which has befallen certain areas of the world bringing catastrophes upon them. Well water has been depleted, the meadows, pastures, and trees have become desiccated, and stock farming has suffered also. Destruction has befallen these areas, and their inhabitants have been forced to search far and wide for subsistence.

Do they know that the depletion of subterranean water storage is harmful to many water reservoirs, and this is still a position of concern to those knowledgeable in the area of water preservation, development, planning and usage.

He continued:

Based upon what was previously explained, action to preserve water, which is considered to be one of the most vital natural resources in Yemen since its economy depends principally upon agricultural development, will not be accomplished except by legislating to protect water sources from depletion and pollution and to organize and lead in water investment projects and to establish barriers to prevent the waste, depletion and misuse of water, and especially by legislating to protect water sources in major cities.

In addition to that, raising the consciousness of the farmers should be worked on as well as teaching them by exemplary methods which include the scientific and correct use of water without waste or misuse.

Concerning the dangers that result from the misuse of potable water he said:

The waste of water in and of itself is considered to be a great harm to this natural resource, and we must all realize the dangers which can be caused by the waste of water and the disasters which can afflict the people who waste it.

There is no doubt that the waste and misuse of water is inevitably tied to the depletion of this resource, and therefore life becomes difficult to bear, and some are now sensing the danger which lurks behind the depletion of water. As the poet says:

In the dark night, the moon is lost.

Perhaps the famous Yemeni saying, "a thread of water, not of gold," confirms the importance of this resource in all times and places and the necessity of protecting it from waste and misuse so that the matters do not reach their natural conclusion and we pray for God to forbid this.

Concerning wasteful methods which may have affected subterranean water resources especially in Sanaa, al-Fusayl said:

There is no doubt that the depletion of subterranean water by way of waste and misuse is regarded as one of the most important problems from which subterranean water resources are suffering, especially in the Sanaa reservoir since the depletion of subterranean water from the Sanaa reservoir and from surrounding areas is continuing and increasing daily. The digging of deep wells is continuing while drilling companies are proliferating without restriction or without standards of operation despite the fact that the Organization is striving to supervise drilling operations in the Sanaa basin by way of registering drilling companies and by establishing technical standards or by licensing before any well drilling, except that there is still a need to take measures which must be taken to limit the unwarranted depletion of subterranean water. It is the only source for supplying the capital, especially since recent hydrological studies have shown that water currently utilized in the Sanaa basin was stored in this basin tens of thousands of years ago and that the percentage of resupply of these sources by way of seasonal rain water is considered to be minute. In some areas the basin is empty, a matter which confirms to us that the water which is currently being pumped in the basin is threatened with exhaustion because we are depleting it without replenishing it, and that, as they say, makes matters worse.

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FORMER FRENCH DIPLOMAT ANALYZES 'IMPASSE' IN AFGHANISTAN

Paris POLITIQUE INTERNATIONALE in French Winter 1983-1984 pp 285-295

[Article by former diplomat Jean-Christophe Victor]

[Text] A Sinologist and ethnologist by training, J.-C. Victor held a diplomatic post in Afghanistan for 3 years. He has returned there (secretly) several times since the Soviet intervention. After serving as a consultant to the Analysis and Forecasting Center of the [French] Ministry of External Relations, J.-C. Victor has just published a book entitled "The Stakes in Afghanistan: City of Murmurs" (Lattes Publishing House, 1983).

There is almost something pleasant about taking stock of the 4 years that the Red Army has been in Afghanistan. For one thing, the results are by no means "positive overall." For another, Soviet difficulties in the field are not well known, and there are two reasons for this. The first is that Afghan opposition to the communist regime in Kabul has not yet turned its efforts to the propaganda front. The second is that the governments, foreign offices, and media in the West cannot, for their part, absorb all tensions and cover all conflicts at once and are therefore forced to concentrate their attention on those closest at hand (deployment of the Pershing II missiles) and those that are most important (Lebanon and Central America). So the reality of a war must not be measured by its echo. In this case, silence in the media here does not mean silent weapons over there.

On the contrary, the two factions of the Afghan Communist Party that share unequally in a fictitious government in Kabul are taking advantage of the curfew to settle their differences with weapons. And the Afghan opposition, better organized now than it was at the start of the war, is ensuring that insecurity prevails everywhere (even within the bastions best protected by the occupier). Two rockets were fired at the Soviet Embassy in the Darulaman quarter of Kabul on 30 May 1983. So it seems that the Westerners were the first to "normalize" Afghanistan on their list of concerns. The fact is that to keep that country within its expanded sphere of influence, the USSR is counting on a lack of attention followed by complete forgetfulness in Western and Arab capitals. It is playing that card cautiously and slowly, and it is achieving some success on the diplomatic level. Let us therefore begin by analyzing the Soviet management

of this conflict and then go on to consider the real difficulties that the Kremlin is having to face in the field.

### Intelligent Management

To conduct this war, the USSR has diverted only one-twentieth of its ground forces (which total 1,825,000 men). It has the following forces in Afghanistan: six motorized infantry divisions (out of 115) with a total of 90,000 men; one airborne division (out of eight) consisting of 10,000 men, to which should now be added the five airborne special assault brigades; 2,000 advisers in the Afghan Army; and 50,000 men on reserve in Tashkent and Dushanbe. The latter are not included in the total intervention forces in the Afghan theater, but they can participate in operations: the Panjshir Valley is only 30 minutes away from the frontier by helicopter, and a supersonic bomber can cover the distance in just a few minutes. Lastly, according to British intelligence, there are 600 helicopters, including 185 MI-24's, in Afghanistan. As one can see, that is a modest level of commitment that takes no forces away from the extreme eastern front (China and Japan) or, naturally, from the Central European theater. Only the Central Asian front--in this case the 12th and 13th Military Regions (known as "Turkestan" and "Central Asia")--is involved in the maneuvers in Afghanistan.

It is difficult to estimate the financial cost of the Soviet commitment in this country. Regardless of the calculation used, the cost seems tolerable when one considers the sacrifices required for consolidating the empire and the incompressible expense of maintaining an army in any case, whether on maneuvers or in garrison. Once in the field--and the theater in this case is particularly close to the assembly area--one must calculate the additional costs represented by gasoline and jet fuel (for example, an hour of flying time in a French Super Etendard costs 50,000 francs) and the even higher cost of equipment losses (an armored personnel carrier currently costs 4 million francs in France). Western experts estimate Soviet military expenditures in Afghanistan at somewhere between \$3 million and \$5 million per day. Over a year, that comes to a little under \$2 billion, which seems to be a reasonable figure. By way of comparison, the many forms of aid currently being given to Vietnam by the USSR reportedly add up to \$5 billion annually, while Cuba reportedly receives \$3 billion. In the case of Afghanistan, the calculation probably does not include civilian expenditures--covering Soviet experts and technicians stationed in the country--or the support provided for an Afghan economy suffering from the contradictory effects of a centralizing bureaucracy that controls only 20 percent of the territory. In this respect, the "limited Soviet contingent" is limited indeed. Moscow has not undertaken a gradual increase in manpower--a temptation to which the French in Algeria and the Americans in Vietnam succumbed--because the strategy is different.

Here it is more a matter of winning a psychological victory over the civilian population than of achieving a military success against the armed resistance. Selective, repeated, and deadly bombing raids are the means being used to achieve that goal. Since 1979, those attacks have caused the largest exodus of a population since World War II. Afghanistan has some 15 million or 16 million inhabitants, and of those, 3 million are refugees in Pakistan, while another million have gone to Iran. The long-term objective might be to discourage all

civilian support for the resistance groups--to kill the fish by emptying the fishbowl of water. In this respect, it is interesting to observe the lessons learned by the USSR in the field of counter guerrilla measures: infiltration, tight control, regrouped hamlets, and pacification are tactics that have all failed on other fronts, and the USSR is not making those mistakes. As a corollary to these antipopulation measures, the biggest producers of refugees in the world are the countries in the Soviet sphere of influence: Afghanistan, Angola, Ethiopia, Laos, and Kampuchea.

It is also known that the Soviets are using chemical agents--sarin, soman, and diphosgenes. If their use cannot be proven, it is because the Red Army avoids their repeated use so as to prevent the possibility of proof. It uses them only against targets far removed from zones accessible to foreign observers.

The use of gas is therefore sporadic in time and dispersed in space, but it now seems to be a certainty. Let us not forget that Afghanistan constitutes an ideal life-sized maneuver area--a weapons testing center in situ without too many embarrassing witnesses--and that, moreover, gas is the only weapon that can reach resistance fighters who retreat deep into caves.

#### Endurance Strategy

To achieve its objectives, the USSR sees its strategy as one of endurance. This was clearly revealed by its lack of interest in the peace plan proposed by Valéry Giscard d'Estaing in early 1981. The intention was to trap the USSR in its own arguments by proposing a conference to deal with "foreign interference." The permanent members of the Security Council, bordering countries, and countries involved in, or accused of being involved in, interference in Afghanistan (Egypt, for example) were to be invited. The absence of Afghan representatives (a point in the plan that was sharply criticized) made it possible to avoid accepting Karmal as an interlocutor while at the same time emphasizing that the opposition to his regime was not exactly united. But the Kremlin found nothing to its taste either in that plan or in the revised plan launched by the European Council in Luxembourg (in their revision, the 10 added to the original idea a second phase calling for the presence of "representatives of the Afghan people"). Moscow could not tolerate the exclusion of the Kabul regime, nor could it accept the idea of having to hold discussions later with an opposition which, it claimed, was not representative in any way. Moreover, the prospect of seeing China play an active part in the debate could not have the slightest appeal for Moscow. That being said, it is highly significant that the principle of a meeting on "noninterference" has never been brought up again by Soviet diplomats themselves, even though the only argument underlying the Red Army's presence in Afghanistan is precisely the existence of "foreign interference"!

As a result, there is reason for slight surprise at the optimism surrounding the indirect talks in Geneva, where, at irregular intervals since the spring of 1982, Pakistanis and Iranians have been talking to representatives of the "Afghan party in power." The Pakistanis are already mentioning "the terms of a possible settlement," while Diego Cordovez, the personal representative of the UN secretary general (under whose auspices the talks are being held), feels



for his part that he "is meeting with considerable flexibility." While those contacts in Geneva have the merit of being useful as a "test" of the Kremlin's real intentions--the Chinese announced in May 1983 that they were prepared to approve the Cordovez proposals if the Soviets would publicly commit themselves to a timetable for withdrawal--they have also been an undeniable source of benefits for Moscow. The reason is that the Soviet position in Geneva is perfectly consistent with the arguments that justified the intervention. The legal arguments are based on the appeal from the government in Kabul (authorized by the assistance treaty signed between the USSR and Afghanistan on 5 December 1979). The political argument is based on accusations of "foreign interference." Since it has not yet managed to achieve international recognition for the Karmal regime, the USSR no longer makes such recognition a precondition for any negotiation. But it is still demanding a halt to foreign interference before agreeing to withdraw its own soldiers. That demand is sufficiently vague, however, to allow the one formulating it to define its content anyway he pleases, and it is sufficiently ambiguous to cause disagreements among the governments of the Western countries: military men ready to arm the Afghan resistance find themselves thwarted by diplomats who, for their part, want to give the Geneva talks a chance. In the view of the diplomats, there is no point in ruining the outcome of such a meeting in advance by engaging in "real" interference! In fact, the mechanism is well known and quite sophisticated: it consists of making the party who has not yet started anything hesitate by inducing him to consider the enemy's arguments and thus persuading him that they may be well founded: what if it were indeed our own interference which was preventing the USSR from withdrawing? There, in truth, is an example of perfectly successful communication strategy. Locally, the Afghans have had plenty of time to see that in the European capitals, the executive power is coming down more firmly in favor of the second option: that of the diplomats.

It seems obvious that the Geneva talks provide an opportunity. But an opportunity for whom? There is no doubt that the USSR would like to save the expense of its military operations and would prefer to see Babrak Karmal keep himself in power with his own resources. Moreover, Geneva provides the Soviet leaders with the possibility of restoring their public image. By pretending to play an active part, the Kremlin makes people believe first of all that it is interested in the results. And also that it might seize the opportunity to withdraw from the Afghan expedition with its head held high. In this way, it is indicating that the time for dialogue with the West has returned and that it is on the verge of regaining a certain respectability. Even better: a simple trick of vocabulary makes the Parcham Party Afghanistan's sole representative over against Iranian and Pakistani interlocutors, whose nationality confirms the regional character of the crisis (which is what Moscow has been claiming since 27 December 1979). One additional advantage: as long as the talks continue--and they will for several years--it will seem pointless to explore other diplomatic paths. The Soviet presence in Geneva is enough in itself to defuse the Afghan crisis and relegate it to the rank of local tension. As an immediate consequence, condemnation by international bodies is subsiding, and arms deliveries to the Afghans are not increasing.

All of this provides just that much more time for Soviet diplomats stationed in Islamic countries to convince those governments that Karmal is progressive

and Moslem at the same time. It also provides time in which to continue training future communist Afghan cadres in the East European countries and the Soviet Union. And it gives the Karmal regime--which has now been in existence for 4 years--time to acquire de jure legitimacy on the international stage, since the Afghan opposition has not formed a government in exile capable of offering a credible alternative. Lastly, it provides time in which to observe developments on the other fronts so as to play one against the other or the other in exchange for the one: U.S. difficulties in Lebanon or Central America and the deployment of intermediate-range missiles in Europe.

The USSR therefore appears to be in a good position in its diplomatic management of the Afghan problem. In the field, on the other hand, it is running into real difficulties. Moreover, seeds of contradiction can be discerned in the implementation of its strategy of endurance.

#### Ambiguities of Soviet Commitment

The members of the Politburo--6,000 kilometers from the theater of operations--are treating the Soviet Army's commitment outside the territory as a touchy problem, to be sure, but nevertheless as just one problem among others. That point of view is not necessarily shared by the military, even those with a seat on the Central Committee. The reason is that out in the field, they may view themselves as being both overcommitted and undercommitted at the same time.

They are too heavily committed for the mission they are being called on to fulfill: that of combating an enemy to discourage, not conquer, him. But how can you discourage an enemy who, no matter how poorly armed, winds up inflicting losses on you that are out of proportion to the objective in view and impossible to regard as negligible, since they add up to hundreds every month? They are also insufficiently committed: the natural inclination of military men when they are waging war is, after all, to want to win. It is in fact more exhilarating and better for the morale of the troops to conquer the enemy than to remain facing him while pursuing a scorched-earth policy.

Soviet offensives in the Panjshir Valley are exemplary in this respect. Although repeated several times a year, they have not resulted in an obstruction of that strategic point on the route between the north and the capital, the dismantling of that model of resistance, or the death of its leader Massood, who has become a national symbol and enjoys international fame. How can those offensives, which are perceived throughout the world as failures, be regarded as victories by the Soviet military high command?

Henry Kissinger, who spent nearly 10 years studying various ways of overcoming the Vietnamese guerrillas, wrote in volume 1 of his "Memoirs": "The cardinal principle of guerrilla warfare is that as long as one is not losing, one is winning, whereas for the regular army, the absence of victory is the equivalent of defeat." Whatever the tactical and technical means by which this war continues, the policy of occasional bombardments and massacres which started it has by now had an effect on the Afghan people (whom it is a question of defeating--in other words, of convincing) that is durable and probably the opposite of the one expected: their faces are set against the occupier and everything that may come from him--leaders as well as technicians.

Force is the only instrument of the policy now in effect, and it makes it possible in particular to hide the failures: failure in the effort to "Afghanize" the fighting, failure of the prospects for unifying the factions in the Communist Party, and failure in efforts to achieve international recognition of the regime in power. Force suffices to empty Afghanistan of its population, and force suffices for allowing the USSR to remain there. But it is not enough to produce a few specifically military victories, which the army would be quick to boast of not only to the Western camp but also to the "politicians" in the Kremlin. The fact is that the Soviet military have little scope for challenging political decisions. Asking for reinforcements amounts to acknowledging the difficulties being encountered. Perpetuating the current level of commitment allows the political power to remain discreetly in that theater, but it prohibits the military from crying victory even once. And are not the military the government's only instrument in Afghanistan? Are they not the only ones making a war effort without even one ally from the Warsaw Pact on whom they could blame a few mistakes from time to time? Since the military are seen as the only ones responsible, how could they not feel tempted to ask for a simple doubling of manpower that would enable them to regard victory as certain? That would be an unexpected way of adopting a kind of "Vietnamization" of the war. But while the Politburo is not letting itself be caught in the chain of events represented by an increase in manpower, it may be feeling some irritation toward the Red Army that is holding on in Afghanistan without glory. Wladimir Kuzichkin, a former KGB agent in Tehran who was given political asylum in London in June 1982, sums up the impasse this way: "In the current state of its forces, the army cannot win. And the politicians cannot give up."

#### Image of Power

In 1980, with the weight that the USSR was then throwing into the balance to keep the Afghan regime in its camp, no one expected the Afghan resistance to survive. But the Mujahedin are not content just to survive: day after day, they frustrate the military plans drawn up by the Red Army and practically prevent the central government from functioning. They have now kept the crisis at a level that surpasses them and also serves them. Not only have they prevented any normalization of their country, but they have also succeeded in polluting relations between the USSR and the chief Western capitals. Not only are they succeeding in the field in resisting the largest conventional army in the world, but by doing so, they have altered people's perceptions of that army. Being well under control, the Red Army's level of commitment remains moderate, as we have seen. So it is not correct to claim that it is floundering in a quagmire. But it is nevertheless true that the idea of such a floundering involvement is now present in people's minds. The offensive behavior of the Afghans is altering the myth of invincibility that has surrounded Soviet soldiery until now. And that apparent vulnerability is all the more serious precisely because the Kremlin likes to base the image of its power on its army, its military-industrial complex, and the fear that both can generate abroad.

The difficulties being encountered by the Soviet expeditionary force have become so obvious that they can no longer be concealed even from the USSR's own inhabitants. More than that, a commentator on Radio Moscow International,

Wladimir Danchev, went so far on 18 May 1983 as to say over the air that the Soviet soldiers were "bandits crushing the Afghan people."

The Kremlin cannot be unaware that its army is perceived abroad as an army experiencing difficulties on the first battlefield that it has entered directly and alone since World War II. Locally, guerrilla warfare is going to last for years, and the result is that a sort of sprint race is now underway between the slow takeover of the Afghan state by communist cadres trained in the USSR and the gradual assumption of political leadership in the country by young resistance leaders on the strength of the prestige and authority they have gained from the war.

The work of those 50 future Ahmad Shah Massoods is made easier by three basic factors: the country is controlled neither by the central government nor by the Soviet Army. People move about freely, and the Afghan population, 90 percent of which is in close contact with the Mujahedin, is therefore receptive to the resistance propaganda disseminated in the mosques and schools and by all the usual means of political persuasion (tracts, speeches, and so on). On the other hand, the system set up in Kabul shares some of the characteristics of "bureaucratic centralism": radiating from the center, its dissemination in the country is hampered considerably by the absence of means of communication (there is only radio), by the considerable dangers facing the "Karmal" military when they venture into the provinces, and by the traditional imperviousness of Afghan ethnic groups to any directive issued by the state. Lastly, and differing in this from traditional colonial undertakings, the Soviet Union has not established "psychological action groups" in the Red Army units in Afghanistan to take charge of persuading and winning over the inhabitants.

To sum up, it can be said that after 4 years in the country, the army and the Soviet advisers have been able neither to reduce the factional conflicts within the Afghan Communist Party, nor to intimidate the armed opposition, nor to win international recognition for the regime in Kabul.

In the long run, withdrawal of the occupation troops will depend entirely on the Afghans. By paying too much attention to geography, the games being played in the capitals, and the strategies of empires, one can be caught up in the intellectual exercise of chess playing and forget the specific weight of the (costly) determination of the Afghans. By absorbing the well-argued pessimism of diplomats in Washington, Bonn, or Paris, one strays from the extraordinary optimism which prevails in Kundunz or Peshawar and which is equally infectious. The reality of the Afghans is made up of blood, cold, hunger, cries of joy, certainty, and humor, and in no way does it ever correspond to the reality of that global ballet in which states, simultaneously omnipotent and impotent, muse over scenarios that they do not control.

Results: Negative Overall?

In the Afghan case, any reflection that considers the future seems inevitably to point to an impasse. For one thing, this is because the USSR is not in the habit of backtracking. For another, it is because the Afghans are so convinced of the rightness of their struggle and have inherited such a warrior tradition

that they are clearly going to be just as relentless against the Soviets as the Vietnamese were in their day against the GI's. The problem can actually be summed up in two questions:

1. How much strategic value do the Soviet Union's opponents assign to Afghanistan?
2. What does the USSR really want in Afghanistan?

To the first question, the answer given by Western diplomats differs from that given by the military. The former feel that the crisis is regional and that Afghanistan was already part of the Soviet camp. Or, at the very least, that the country had been "lost" to the Western camp. The military, on the other hand, view with concern the new potentiality for the USSR that is represented by its possession of the base in Shindand in southwest Afghanistan, and they note Moscow's revival of the "policy of the straits." This would involve a future pincer movement aimed at cutting Western lines of communication through the Strait of Hormuz.

If Afghanistan is indeed important strategically--and unlike Pakistan and Iran, it does not seem to be--it would be advisable to increase the cost to the Soviets of conquering it by applying pressures--pressures of an economic and diplomatic kind that have not been exerted to date and pressures of a military kind that have been applied only slightly so far. Let us note in passing that the countries belonging to NATO have not decided on a uniform, gradual, and lasting response to peripheral conflicts of the Ethiopian or, especially, Afghan type.

On the other hand, if the Western camp decides that Afghanistan is not strategically important, it will be necessary, in order to retain some hope of resolving the crisis, to try to answer the second question: what exactly does the USSR expect to gain from its effort at conquest?

Does it want to expand its glacis of security? If so, a compromise is conceivable: Soviet bases in Afghanistan could be retained in exchange for a regime politically acceptable to the Afghans. For both sides, any exchange would involve making concessions.

Does it want to keep a communist regime in Kabul at all costs? If that is the Kremlin's ambition, there is no doubt that the Soviet expeditionary force will have to remain in the country for a very long time, because the reasons that led to the troop disembarkment in 1979 have not been eliminated in 1984.

Does it want to establish a stable state that will present no danger to the Moslem republics in the USSR and also have no particularly kind feelings toward the Islamic Republic of Iran? If that is the case, only contacts between the Soviets and Afghans, with both sides committing themselves to secret, lengthy, and difficult negotiations, could result in the definition of points of flexibility and lead to a minimum result desired by each party and acceptable to the other (the only exception is that a coalition government is unimaginable). Once that minimal foundation is established, a guarantee of Afghanistan's

neutralization ought to be provided by the international community--including China and the United States--somewhat on the pattern of the Austrian State Treaty of 1955.

As this fifth year of Soviet "maneuvers" in Afghanistan begins, the Western camp has still not succeeded in answering those questions.

11798

CSO: 4619/26

ZIA OPENS DOOR TO U.S. INFLUENCE IN GULF, SOUTH ASIA

Dhaka SANGBAD in Bengali 5 Feb 84 p 4

[Editorial: "Straight Talk From Ziaul Haq"]

[Text] In an interview with the American magazine PARADE, Gen Ziaul Haq, president of Pakistan, said that his country is looking after American interests in the Persian Gulf, South Asia and nearby areas.

Gen Ziaul Haq made this statement without any kind of circumlocution. This is one of the good qualities of military rulers; they do not hesitate to call a spade a spade. However, at the time of assuming power, many military rulers make many promises. That is nothing new. Many consider this to be a political phenomenon of post-World War II Third World nations.

But are they believable? In 1969, the Foreign Relations Committee of the American Senate asked Governor Rockefeller to prove the accuracy of his report on the status of military rulers in South America. In this report, recommendations were made in favor of providing assistance to a few military juntas of South America. It was stated in the report that in most cases a new form of military rule had evolved; they had transformed themselves into forces of constructive social reform. Faced with ever increasing corruption, incompetency and political callousness, the military administrations had adopted responsible plans of action toward social and economic advancement. Commenting on this report, the committee chairman, Senator Frank Church, said, "This kind of language reminds me of when I was getting interested in politics. At that time, I heard such statements made in favor of fascist dictatorships."

When he was assuming power, Gen Ziaul Haq also made familiar statements. At that time, he said nothing unusual. General Zia is a straight talker. While Bhutto's trial was in progress, long before he was hanged, General Zia had expressed his true feelings: "I will hang the bastard to death."

Soon after Zia came to power, the shah of Iran was overthrown. Since then, America has been searching for an ally to police the Gulf region on its behalf. To remove any opposition in Pakistan, reluctant friend Bhutto had to go. Of course, Bhutto himself had prepared the way for his own downfall. He had attempted to compromise with the ultra rightists of his country

against the wishes of a unified opposition. So long as the ultra rightists led the agitation, Bhutto did not call out the army. But when the workers of Karachi and other areas joined the agitation to transform it into a mass movement, Bhutto called out the army to suppress the agitation. Taking advantage of this social unrest, and with the help of ultra rightist groups, military rule was established in Pakistan.

On one side of the spectrum, an intense anti-Israel movement changed to an anti-American movement. Ayatolla Khomeyni took employees of the American Embassy hostage. The Soviet Army entered Afghanistan. Though it was known for some time that the Government of Afghanistan was pro-Moscow, the United States did not evince much interest in this country; it was preoccupied with the problem of filling the vacuum created by the fall of the shah. Interestingly enough, Ayatolla Khomeyni was not only far from being a supporter of Moscow, he had expressed his open opposition to Soviet Russia on many occasions. Though he was silent on Soviet policy in Afghanistan in the beginning, he later openly condemned the Russians and openly endorsed the rebel freedom fighters in Afghanistan. Khomeyni's intense anti-American attitude, in fact, proved to be highly beneficial to U.S. interests in this region.

These developments helped America free itself from the Vietnam nightmare and also helped in finding justifications for an American presence in the Gulf region. As a matter of fact, the Afghan crisis and the strong anti-American stance of the Islamic revolution in Iran proved to be blessings in disguise for American foreign policy in this region.

A well-known conservative American journalist, William Safire, commenting in this regard, said, "The aggravation that has been created by the Ayatollah has been providential." The Vietnam experience, which had crippled America psychologically, was strengthened by these new developments. The Ayatollah's intense anti-American stand helped remove the Vietnam stigma from the American mind, and helped create an atmosphere in favor of a new military budget. This new psychological process helped in the establishment of new naval and air force bases in the Middle East and at the same time enhanced the role of the CIA in beginning covert operations and establishing new missions overseas. As a result, American foreign policy became even more rightist.

Concerning this phenomenon, Eugene Rostow had remarked that the cause of the crisis in the Middle East is not the prolonged struggle between Israel and its Arab neighbors--it is only a symptom and also its resultant fall out. The struggle in the Middle East is not an Arab-Israeli war; it is a NATO crisis, it is a crack in the world political arena. Rostow made these remarks in 1972. Regarding Israel's invasion of Lebanon in 1982, the Israeli foreign minister said that the main objective of this invasion was to wipe out Soviet influence in Lebanon and among the Palestinian people.

The U.S. administration has announced that the new naval and air force bases in Oman have been established with the sole purpose of facilitating operations of the Rapid Deployment Force in the Gulf region and also to keep the



sea passage open for the uninterrupted flow of oil. It has also been reported that Russia is extremely interested in opening an area of influence in the warm water region of the Persian Gulf. Though Pakistan has so far denied any involvement in this matter, General Zia's interview with PARADE magazine makes it crystal clear. In the same light, the recent establishment of naval and air force bases in Pakistan cannot be totally ignored.

For the first time, as a result of Pakistan assuming the role of filling the vacuum created by the fall of the shah, this has catapulted the region bordering the Indian Ocean, Persia and the Arabian Sea into a realm of cold war. The effect of the establishment of an American outpost and the expansion of American influence to an area more than 8,000 miles from its shores, and its admission by General Zia as Pakistan's custodian, should be far reaching.

We are grateful to Gen Ziaul Haq, the president of Pakistan, because he has openly declared his role in this matter without any hesitation. In 1970 George Ball realized the importance of "clear thinking and open speech." By openly declaring his role in assisting the expansion of NATO's influence in the Gulf region, General Zia has confirmed his belief in the policy of "clear thinking and open speech."

12195

CSO: 4607/3

## BRAZILIAN FOREIGN MINISTER MEETS PRESS IN DELHI

New Delhi PATRIOT in English 8 Mar 84 p 5

[Text]

An Indo-Brazil Joint Commission to expand economic and cultural relations between the two countries may take shape towards the end of this year, visiting Brazilian Foreign Minister Ramiro Saraiva Guerreiro told newsmen on Wednesday.

Mr Guerreiro, the first Brazilian Foreign Minister ever to have come to India, is leaving on Thursday morning for home after a visit which he described as extremely useful. Mr Guerreiro, who had long discussions with External Affairs Minister P V Narasimha Rao and other Central Ministers, also had a meeting with Prime Minister Indira Gandhi in which he briefed her on the Brazilian appreciation of the situation in Nicaragua and elsewhere in Central and South America.

Addressing a press conference later, Mr Guerreiro said the political decision to set up a joint commission had already been taken, and the acts formally setting up the body would be perhaps ready in the second half of the year. His country, he said, was keen to expand and consolidate relations with India in all spheres. The joint commission will identify areas of trade expansion so as to help balance the balance of trade which at a Rs 250 crore turnover is in Brazil's favour. India's main imports, worth over Rs 200 crore, are in edible oil.

The Minister said a decision had also been taken to have a shipping connection between the two countries as transportation over the ex-

treme distances involved had been a major reason for the low trade. Both India and Brazil had their strong points, and it would be easy to have a complementary relationship. Brazil had expertise in petroleum. In turn, India's development in science and technology was enviable.

Brazil, he said, also highly appreciated India's role in international affairs. Both countries shared many common goals and policies.

Answering questions on the situation in Nicaragua, which he had discussed with Mrs Gandhi, the Brazilian Minister said it still remained very, very sensitive. The Contedora group's efforts were the only hopeful way out of the crisis, he said, because they worked through diplomatic channels and negotiations and were helping create a better ambience. Brazil, he said, extended full moral and political support to the group.

Mr Geurriero, answering questions on Brazil's economy and its experiences with the IMF and the western commercial banks, spoke feelingly and at length on the crises that had generated in the two oil price escalations. While the 1974 oil rise could be tied over, the second crisis hit his country hard.

The Government, he said had taken strict steps to economise to be able to pay the interest that had come due on the loans.

CSO: 4600/1669

## LIST OF CONGRESS-I CANDIDATES FOR RAJYA SABHA POLLS

New Delhi PATRIOT in English 16 Mar 84 p 1

[Text]

The Congress-I has decided to field former Punjab Chief Minister Darbara Singh as its candidate for the biennial elections to the Rajya Sabha from Punjab and Mrs J N Pahadia, wife of former Rajasthan Chief Minister Jagannath Pahadia, from her home State.

According to a list of 38 candidates approved on Thursday by the Congress-I Parliamentary Board, Minister of State for Steel and Mines N K P Salve, the only Minister to retire, has been re-nominated from Maharashtra. State PCC-I president N M Kamble has also been chosen for election from Maharashtra.

A journalist, Mr Vishwa Bandhu Gupta, president of All-India Newspaper Editors Conference, will contest from Delhi. The party is contesting all the 73 seats. The remaining names are to be announced later. AICC-I general secretaries G K Moopanar and Chandulal Chaudrakar told newsmen while releasing the list.

The list does not contain the names of former Maharashtra Chief Minister A R Antulay, party's working president Kamalapati Tripathi, Mr K C Pant and Dr Rafiq Zakaria, a sitting Rajya Sabha member. On the other hand, Mr P N Sukul and Mr Narendra Singh, both from UP, have been retained. Among the new names from UP are Prof Hashim Kidwai of Aligarh Muslim University and Arun Singh, a close lieutenant of Mr Rajiv Gandhi.

The CPB-I's decision to see Mr Darbara Singh, presently a member of the Punjab Assembly, in the Rajya Sabha rules out the possibility of his heading the Ministry in the State whenever a popular Government is

re-instated.

State-wise list of nominees is:

ORISSA: Mr Sunil Patnail, Mayurbhanj president NCC-I; Mr Subash Mohanty, State Youth Congress-I president; Mr Ganeshwar Kusum from Sundergarh and Mr V Panicker, AICC-I joint secy.

WEST BENGAL: Mr D P Roy, AIYC-I general secretary. MEGHALAYA: Mr J E Tariat, Meghalaya PCC-I working president.

UTTAR PRADESH: Mr Sukul, Mr G D Richaria from Jhansi, Mr Shiv Kumar Sharma, Shahjahanpur DCC-I president; Mr R C Vikal, Mr Sohan Lal Dhusiya from Basti, Prof Kidwai, Mr Arun Singh, Mr Narendra Singh and Mr Bir Bhadra Pratap Singh from Azamgarh.

HIMACHAL PRADESH: Mr Anand Sharma, Youth Cong-I general secretary. MANIPUR: Mr R K Jayachandra Singh.

BIHAR: Mr Bandhu Mahto, Mr Rameshwar Thakur, Mr Thakur Kamakhya Singh and Mr Durga Prasad Jamda.

HARYANA: Mr M P Kaushik, PUNJAB: Mr Darbara Singh. RAJASTHAN: Mr Bhim Raj and Mrs Pahadia.

MADHYA PRADESH: Mr Chandrika Prasad Tripathi, Jabalpur DCC-I president; Mr B R Manhar and Mr Suresh Pachoria, Youth Congress president.

ASSAM: Mr Prithvi Majhi and Mr Bineshwar Kalitha, Youth Congress-I president.

DELHI: Mr Gupta.

MAHARASHTRA: Mr Salve, Prof Kamble, Mr S N Deshmukh, Mr Jagdish Desai (from Bombay) Mrs Sudha Joshi and Mr Hussain Dahvali. KARNATAKA: Mr Kollur Mallappa.

CSO: 4600/1666

CONTRACT SIGNED WITH JAPANESE COMPANY FOR POWER PLANT

LD181933 Tehran Domestic Service in Persian 1630 GMT 18 Mar 84

[Text] Iran today signed a contract with Japan for the purchase of turbines, generators, sensitive equipment, and control system for the big Shahid Raja'i power station. Our correspondent reports on the signing of this contract.

[Correspondent] Following Iran's decision to build a large 2,000-mu (?steam) power station near Qazvin, documents for the purchase of some of the sensitive equipment and parts required in the power station today were signed between Mr Karachian, managing director of Tavanir, and Mr (?Kiba) from Mitsubishi of Japan. First of all, I ask Mr Karachian to describe the main specifications of the Shahid Raja'i power station.

[Karachian] In the name of God, the compassionate, the merciful. This power station consists of eight 250 mw units, totalling 2,000 mw; it will be implemented in two, 1,000 mw phases. It is the first project after the revolution which is not on a turn-key basis; it will be installed by Tavanir. We have purchased the generators, sensitive equipment and the control system from the Mitsubishi Company. We hope to be able to complete the installation work in 66 months and connect it to the circuit [the national grid].

[Correspondent] Will you give some explanations on the tender for the purchase of these goods and the contract that was signed?

[Karachian] We prepared the documents for the tender about 1 and 1/2 years ago, to enable us to purchase goods not manufactured in Iran and to obtain the other parts manufactured in Iran from domestic manufacturers. Thanks to our colleagues' efforts, this was prepared. Fourteen important international companies made bids; the Mitsubishi Company was declared the winner.

[Correspondent] At what stage is the rest of the construction work, and what other work should be carried out for the construction of the power station?

[Karachian] After this contract, we shall sign a contract for the boiler, which might be signed in a month or two; all the work has been carried out on it; they are in the final stages of appraising the tender documents. Then, there is the cooling tower of the power station. There are about 50 large and small contracts for the power station, which would have been carried out

in one contract for the lot, before the revolution. We hope to sign the smaller contracts for the power station in 1363 [year ending 20 March 85].

[Correspondent] When is the implementation work of the power station to be completed, and when, God willing, will the electricity generated there enter the circuit?

[Karachian] As I said, we have estimated that it would take about 66 months for the power station to be completely ready. Of course, the first unit will enter the circuit in less than 66 months; the eighth unit will enter the circuit after 66 months. Here, I should explain about the fuel; its primary fuel is gas. Considering that there is a pipe-line near the power station, we shall use gas. The secondary fuel used will be fuel oil.

CSO: 4640/168

PAPER COMMENTS ON UPCOMING ELECTIONS, CONSTITUTIONAL LAW

Tehran KAYHAN INTERNATIONAL in English 4 Mar 84 p 2

[Editorial by S. Moadab: "Election in Revolution"]

[Text] Islamic Iran is preparing for the second election of the Islamic Consultative Assembly (ICA) in a few weeks. Article 63 of the constitution says: "The representatives of the Islamic Assembly shall be elected for a term of four years. The elections for each legislative term must be completed before the end of the previous term in such a manner that the Islamic Republic shall at no time be without an Islamic Assembly." Also according to the law, the ICA must have 270 members: The present Majlis, the first after the victory of the Islamic Revolution is responsible for determining the "qualifications of the candidates and the voters" in the upcoming election. This task has already been completed and the Council of Guardians has approved the criteria put forward by the sitting Majlis deputies. It is expected that following the official announcement of the new election law the Ministry of the Interior will organize the general election to take place one month later. The real election campaign then, is slated to begin in a few days.

Imam Khomeini started discussing the importance of the upcoming election several months ago. Imam has put extraordinary significance on this second Majlis election. On almost every occasion that he has spoken in past weeks or sent a message, the leader of the Islamic Revolution has made comments on the upcoming elections and prospective Majlis deputies.

According to the Imam, voting in the next election is a religious duty. The founder of the Islamic Republic has referred to the Majlis as the nation's foremost institution and in most cases where a crucial decision is to be made, he asks for the final approval of the Majlis. As an example we can mention the case of the American spies. When the students who had taken the U.S. spy den asked for Imam's opinion as to what to do with the so-called hostages, the Imam gave the Majlis full authority to decide on the conditions for releasing them.

Another case in point was the impeachment of Bani-Sadr. The Imam waited for the Majlis' decision to see if he would be removed from the presidency. Constitutional law has also given the Majlis enormous power. Articles 76 and 77 read: "The Islamic Assembly is empowered to investigate and inquire into

all the affairs of the country. International treaties, protocols, contracts and international agreements must be approved by the Majlis." Concerning the responsibility of the deputies Article 34 stipulates that, "Each of the representatives of the assembly is individually responsible before the whole nation and, as such, is entitled to express views on all domestic, as well as external, affairs of the country."

But in relation to constitutional law, the power of the Majlis is not unlimited. Article 72 reads: "The Islamic Assembly cannot pass laws in contravention of principles and precepts of the duly constituted official religions of the country." To ensure the adaptation of Majlis decisions with Islam and constitutional law Article 91 reads: "With a view to ensuring that the decisions of the assembly do not ignore Islamic precepts and the principles of the constitution, a Guardian Council for the constitution is to be established." In this council there are six qualified religious jurists and six qualified lawyers. The election of members of this council is the right of the "leader."

The broad-based nature of the Majlis decisions is due to the fact its composition covers the representatives of the four official religions recognized by the constitution. Article 64 says that Zoroastrians, Jews and Assyrian Christians as well as the Chaldean Christians of the north and south of Iran will have their own representatives in the Majlis.

What Imam has been saying, especially in the last few weeks, touches not only the importance of the Majlis and the elections, but the manner in which the deputies must be elected. As was stated, the qualifications of the voters and nominees has already been written down by the Majlis. What Imam is repeating is now who should vote or who must be elected, but rather how the elections must take place. The most emphatic part of Imam's statements is the free decision of the people and non-monopoly of the elections by certain groups or political parties. The leader of the Islamic Revolution has clarified that it is forbidden that one decides for another in the matter of voting. He has even gone further and said that if well-known and respected men nominate an individual and say he is qualified, if he is unknown to a certain individual, that person should not vote for him. In his latest guidelines for the upcoming election the Imam emphasized that "The election is not the monopoly of anyone. (It belongs) neither to the religious leaders, political parties nor any groups. The election belongs to all people."

As a matter of fact, owing to the special importance of the upcoming elections, the opponents of the Islamic Republic have been hatching numerous plots. Fortunately, thanks to Imam's advice, these conspiracies have been neutralized one after the other. What we know now is that the Muslim people of Iran, who are being hit by Iraqi chemical bombs and missiles are impatiently waiting for the next general elections. They are fully aware that the continuity of the Islamic Republic will be insured if the upcoming Majlis is composed of deputies who believe in the neither East nor West policy.

They know that public determination in defending the revolution and resistance vis-a-vis the threats and foreign pressure must be crystallized in the Majlis. For this reason, no matter who decides to run for office, the Iranians have decided to vote for those proven to be eligible to implement the principles of the Islamic Revolution and qualified to speak for a revolutionary nation--a nation which resisted heroically against full-scale pressure from the big and super powers in the last five years.

In terms of monopoly, as Imam has often said, the election belongs to no one. In terms of responsibility, it belongs to every Iranian, regardless of his official religion or adherence to whatever political party. Let us announce to all the friends, supporters and sympathizers of the Islamic Republic that Iran is going to vote again in the process of ongoing revolution. -- S. Moadab

CSO: 4600/438



IRAN

IRAN CLANDESTINE COMMENTS ON KHOMEYNI ELECTION 'TRICKS'

GF200700 (Clandestine) Free Voice of Iran in Persian 1500 GMT 19 Mar 84

[Correspondent's report]

[Text] Khomeyni's regime has recently started stressing the need for popular participation in the elections. The elections for the Council of Experts to select Khomeyni's successor was an experience for the Islamic Republican regime. Since the people were forced to participate in these elections, the majority of voters wrote wrong names on the ballots including the names of Iranian actors and actresses or names of Iranian historical figures instead of the names of candidates. The Interior Minister, therefore, decided to have the names and birthdates of the voters on the ballots in order to avoid this problem.

Unlike past elections, the armed forces are now allowed to participate, but they are still banned from membership in political or cultural parties or organizations. According to an order by Khomeyni published in the media of the regime the voting age has been reduced to 13 from 15. Using this trick, the regime hopes to grab votes from thousands of Iranian teenagers.

Irrespective of all these tricks for the elections there is every indication that the regime is not having much success in getting the people to participate in the elections for the second majlis. [Words indistinct] the agreement of ayatollahs such as Mar'ashi-Najafi, Shirazi, Golpayegani and Khonsari to issue decrees telling people that they have to participate in the elections as a religious duty.

CSO: 4640/169

TEHRAN PROFESSORS URGE UN TO CONDEMN IRAQ

LD181057 Tehran IRNA in English 1056 GMT 18 Mar 84

[Text] Tehran, 18 March IRNA--Professors of faculty of law and political sciences of Tehran University cabled a telegram to the Secretary General of the United Nations Organization Javier Perez De Cuellar in connection with the Iraqi imposed war.

The telegram said that the major responsibility and main objective for the formation of the United Nations was to maintain international peace and taking of a resolute stand against aggressor states such as Iraq, which violated the territorial integrity of other countries.

The telegram said that article two of the UN Charter was clearly adverse to the use of force in solving international disputes and committed the countries to solving their problems through peaceful ways.

Regretfully, the cable added, on 22 September 1980, Iraqi Government ordered its troops to invade Iranian territory.

Since the outbreak of the war the Security Council of the United Nations, according to resolution 7 of its charter--article 39 was obligated to recognise and condemn the aggressor Iraqi regime and conduct punishment against it. However, the telegram said, it has failed in taking any such action and has not even verbally condemned the aggressor, contrary to clear evidences of its aggression.

As a result the Iranian nation on whom a destructive war has been imposed, was compelled to exercise its right of legitimate self-defence, according to article 51 of the charter of the United Nations.

The telegram went on by saying that the Geneva convention of 1925 and other international laws banned deployment of chemical and microbic weapons in wars.

International Committee of Red Cross after inspecting 160 Iranian victims reported that Iraq had violated such laws by its use of chemical weapons in war against Iran.

Austrian and Swedish doctors who examined Iranian wounded combatants also have confirmed illegal use of chemical weapons against Iran.

The cable added that because the United Nations has been entrusted with the task of safeguarding world peace and order, therefore, its silence vis-a-vis the flagrant violation of international laws by Iraq only serves to damage the organisation's credibility and prestige.

Therefore, the scientific board of faculty of Law and Political Sciences expected the secretary general of the United Nations Organisation to take necessary measures to condemn and prevent Iraqi crimes such as deployment of chemical weapons, as well as denounce Iraqi aggression against Iran.

CSO: 4600/448

PAPER LOOKS AT WORLD REACTION TO WAR VICTORIES

GF241859 Tehran KEYHAN INTERNATIONAL in English 27 Feb 84 p 2

[Editorial: "Imposed War and Changing Balance"]

[Text] The new stage of the Iran-Iraq war elicited wide-ranging reactions in global and regional circles. The focal point for world publicity networks has become the news and reports concerning the Val Fajr-6 and Khaybar operations. In Western and reactionary regional circles reactions have been based on hasty theories and judgements. It seems hard for these global circles to understand the new realities. Western military experts insist that the theories of the past should not be discarded, even in the face of this new trend in the Iran-Iraq war. But perhaps the intensified military activities of the Islamic Republic will eventually bring it all home for them.

With a glance at the present politico-military balances vis-a-vis Iran and Iraq, it must be concluded that events are rapidly moving in favor of the Islamic Republic of Iran.

Militarily, the Islamic Republic has of yet not called a large part of her forces to the war fronts. Whilst the army of the Iraqi regime has exhausted its third and fourth corps in Basra and Dehloran to defend itself during the offensives launched by the Islamic Republic of Iran.

It is not probable that the Iraqi regime will be able to rebuild its third and fourth corps which suffered such devastating blows in the Val Fajr and Khaybar operations. Let us think what will happen to the Iraqi forces if the Islamic Republic of Iran employs more of her forces to crack the front lines in the central and southern war zones.

Also the Islamic Republic of Iran has not so far called its huge para-military forces to the battle fronts. If it becomes necessary, for these to be dispatched, it is not hard to imagine the superiority the Islamic Republic forces will enjoy.

According to some Iraqi soldiers who were taken prisoners of war in the recent operations, the Iraqi army has gone beyond its capabilities in drafting forces to counter Iranian offensives. Consequently, if Iraqi defensive lines are cracked by the expanded offensives of Iranian forces, the Baghdad regime will have no choice but to surrender.

Politically, in spite of global imperialist and regional reactionary assurances, the Iraqi regime is extremely weak. This is peculiar to all dictatorial regimes; because the military arm of all dictatorial regimes is the base of its political authority, every blow against that base makes the political authority more vulnerable. This fact becomes more remarkably evident when there is no ethical or emotional relationship between the political center and military organ. Thus, it can be said that if the Iraqi regime's military arm collapses the political rule of the Ba'athist Party will fall. This is the present reality; and the balance is shifting rapidly.

At this time, political observers must understand the existing realities wrought by the preparedness of the militants of the Islamic Republic of Iran and the vulnerability of Iraqi forces; and consequently, they will be able to accept future realities.

The truth of this is borne out by the new adventurist stances of America and its allies in the region. But past experience and the 40-month-old Iran-Iraq war, coupled with the preparedness of the Islamic Republic of Iran to crush any aggression, demonstrates that the realities of Islamic Revolution cannot be disregarded. If the Western society and the supporters of Saddam in the Eastern camp do not take into account these political realities, the future offenses of the Islamic Republic of Iran will definitely have grave political consequences for them.

CSO: 4600/450

IRANIAN DAILY DENOUNCES FOREIGN MEDIA OVER CHEMICAL BOMBS

GF251810 Tehran TEHRAN TIMES in English 5 Mar 84 p 2

[Editorial: Imperialist Media Underplays Chemical Bombings by Iraq]

[Text] On the verge of a crushing defeat in the Khaybar operational region on Monday 27 February, the Iraqi forces once again resorted to chemical explosives, which use has been banned by international law.

Some 1,000 Iranians have suffered severe after-effects of the chemical explosives and some were transferred to hospitals in various cities.

A group of foreign reporters visited a number of the wounded combatants in Tehran hospitals today and made reports and took photographs. A number of international organizations, including the International Red Cross, have also been invited to see the victims of the Iraqi crime.

Meanwhile, despite clear and undeniable evidence about Iraqi use of chemical bombs, which in the past Iranian operations, resulted in the launching by Iraq of such attacks upon a large number of civilians who suffered injuries as a result in rural areas, news media networks of the arrogant countries of the world have reacted heedlessly to these crimes and have not shown any inclination to expose such an important event. The most they have done is to report the news as a "Iranian claim" in between their news reports on the war.

Meanwhile the loudspeakers of the great Satan, the Voice of America, quoted U.S. State Department spokesman in its Persian news service at 21:30 (Tehran local time) last week as saying that "the United States could not confirm Iran's allegations of the Iraqi use of chemical weapons" in the war.

Although the use of the term "claim" is not surprising due to the unabated and official support of Washington for the Iraqi regime, nevertheless the fact that such Western news media still insist on their foolish claims of news independence while they overlook proof of Iraq's atrocious use of chemical bombs, is something that should create serious doubts about their news reporting among world public opinion.

The same news networks, which even try to build a propaganda story of a fight between two Iranian married couples, coolly slight such important events by a simple mentioning of the Iraqi chemical bombings as a "claim made by Iran."

Of course, if one takes notice of this very important point that the source of Iraq's chemical weapons is from Britain, one might find an answer for this issue, after all, confirmation of the Iraqi use of such explosives by the West would automatically bring condemnation as to their source.

The British monarchial regime, however, is feigning ignorance of the whole issue to prevent a major disgrace in the international scene.

The British Broadcasting Corporation (BBC) recently said that the Iraqi chemical bombs are produced in Iraq itself. But on 8 January, the discovery of bottles containing poisonous chemical by the French police in the Normandy coast received wide press coverage. Reports said the bottles originated from an Iraqi ship called Ibn-e Khaldun which carried them from the port of Liverpool in Britain on its way to Kuwait.

French police said the chemical could burn human skin and was poisonous. Reports also said the chemicals are used in the production of chemical bombs and they had been supplied to Iraq by Britain.

On the other hand, a comparison of the effects of chemical explosives on victims in Iran shows that the chemicals had the same effects mentioned in the above mentioned reports.

CSO: 4600/451

NVOI ASSAILS IRANIAN LEADERS' 'WARMONGERING POLICY'

TA191150 (Clandestine) National Voice of Iran in Persian 1730 GMT 18 Mar 84

[Unattributed commentary: "Put An End to Playing With the Destiny of the People and Revolution"]

[Text] Dear Compatriots: Recently the import rate of fabric for shrouds to our tyranny-and-war-stricken homeland has quadrupled, since the number of those killed in the imposed war as well as revolutionary patriots killed in medieval dungeons by executioners of the Islamic regime of Iran's rulers has increased fourfold. Of course, this is apart from scores of thousands of the war's victims in Iraqi territory, where actually there is no possibility of their being shrouded and buried, or of their being precisely accounted for.

Foreign correspondents who visited the war fronts recently report that it is not possible to count the Iranian dead, the majority of whom are 11 to 12-year-old children. The corpses of these victims of the imposed war are piled up in many areas. The marshes are filled with the corpses of the war's victims. Iranian children and teenagers are mostly sent to the war front with sticks and stones, and they are mainly used to neutralize mined areas. The number of Iranian casualties in the latest offensives is being reported at about 50,000. In other words on the eve of the Nowruz Festival, another 50,000 Iranian families have been added to the number of mourning families. The decisive majority of these casualties are from the families of Iran's toiling masses. Among so many casualties you will not bump, even by chance, into the corpses of children and members of the families of, for example, the president, the head of the legislative branch, the head of the judicial branch, the leaders and senior figures of the Islamic Republic, and even of the regime's second and third-grade officials, or the dear children of domestic millionaires and landowners.

Even assuming that these gentlemen's dear children are still in Iran, in order to safeguard their lives they move around on the orders of their parents in bulletproof cars accompanied by the so-called revolution guards. However, most of these noble born children are engaged in debauchery in the United States and Western countries in the best villas and under the best conditions. According to their fathers, they are allegedly carrying out their religious duties in the most famous cabarets. Some of these noble born children live in such pleasure and comfort that it is comparable only to the life of the



children of the accursed shah in the prerevolution era. It is only the children of toilers, the children of Iranian workers and peasants, and the children of this or that trader, civil servant, or employee of an educational department or university who are forcibly sent to the war fronts, or in other words to the slaughterhouse.

With the continuation of this destructive war, misery, calamity, and poverty continue to threaten the families of Iranian working people. Circumstances indicate that the leaders of the Islamic regime are not in the least ready to end this imposed war. Mr Rafsanjani, head of the legislative branch, referring to the recent attacks of the Iranian forces, said: These operations despite their greatness and vastness, are only the beginning. This means that once again scores of thousands of children, youngsters, and youths from the families of toiling masses will be dispatched to the war's slaughterhouse. Thus the misery, misfortune, and problems of our homeland's people will daily become more severe and deeper, and the selfless Iranian people--according to Mr Rafsanjani--should know that this is only the beginning.

The struggling and toiling Iranian people are well aware that the illogical persistence of the Islamic Republic of Iran's leaders in the futile prolongation of the imposed and destructive war is an indication of the political deadlock of the regime which is mired in our homeland's social, economic, political, and military crisis. Since the Islamic regime's warmongering rulers--who by renouncing the popular and anti-imperialist goals of the nation's revolution are being confronted from all sides with the waves of discontent of the million-strong masses of Iranian toilers--are well aware that by admitting the defeat of their warmongering policy they will actually be acknowledging their own political bankruptcy, they are not ready to end this destructive war. They see their salvation in continuing this imposed war, and as they themselves have repeatedly and publicly said, they are prepared to sacrifice all the Iranian people--of course the working people--for the sake of securing victory in this U.S.-imposed war.

One should strive with the utmost power to expose the chauvinistic policy of conquest by the Islamic Government's superficial and superstitious rulers, and should not refrain for one moment from struggle to secure a just and honorable peace. It is the sacred and patriotic duty of Iranian fathers and mothers to strive with all their might to save the lives of their children from certain death, and to expose a government that is playing with the destiny of the people and revolution.

CSO: 4640/166

FRONT SENDS MESSAGE ON ARRESTS IN BAHRAIN

GF241516 Tehran ASH-SHAHID in Arabic 14 Mar 84 pp 26, 27

[Memorandum issued by the Islamic Front for the Liberation of Bahrain on 18 February: "An Open Message to Alive Consciences"]

[Excerpts] In continuation of the arrogance's plot against the Islamic nation, which aimed at liquidating believers from the scene and isolating Islam, the Al Khalifah family continued to oppress the faithful masses and put hundreds of them in prisons under weak accusations. Following is the progress of events which took place in Bahrain against our Muslim masses at the hands of the regime:

A. The newspaper AKHBAR AL-KHALIJ published in its issue No 3402 dated 12 December 1983 a report on the enacting of the emergency law as of January 1984, which means issuing an emergency verdict within 24 hours against any citizen. This is in order to justify arresting people and putting them in prisons under inhumane and unjust laws.

B. In mid-January 1984, Muhammad 'Abdallah Muhammad Hysayn, 34, was arrested as a cover for a brutal campaign which the regime was intending to carry out against free believers in Bahrain. Security organs fabricated the charge of possessing weapons by the arrested citizen and the court accused him on 31 January of hiding weapons in a farm in al-Markh. The abovementioned citizen was badly tortured in custody and his health deteriorated so seriously that he was immediately sent to the military hospital, where he may die at any moment.

C. Since January 1984 and until this memorandum was issued, the ruling authorities in Bahrain were carrying out a massive campaign of arrests within their brutal campaign against the believers in the Gulf. These arrests included clergymen, government employees, students, laborers, and peasants. The details are as follows:

One: The riot control troops stormed the house of Shaykh Ibrahim Mansur al-Jufayri on Sunday, 29 January 1984 and after terrifying women and children, cuffed him and took him to the police fort prison.

The newspaper AKHBAR AL KHALIJ published on 12 February 1984 a photo of Shaykh Ibrahim "without his turban" and accused him of being a member of a political

party. What is known about him is that he is the president of the Islamic Propagation Society and that he is a teacher of Koran. Because he was brutally tortured in the Al Kalifah's prisons, he became unable to move and he now in very poor health.

Two: On Thursday, 2 February 1984, the armed riot control vehicles besieged the Islamic Propagation Society in ad-Diraz and terrified the women students who were there for their normal schooling. The forces confiscated all that was inside the building--publications, typewriters, and radio cassettes--and sealed the society without prior notice. Eyewitnesses affirm that they saw ambulances transferring women students who fainted out of fear while the riot police were standing coldly.

Three: Two religious schools for boys and girls were closed. The two schools used to teach Koran and other subjects.

Four: The authorities arrested brutally the following:

1. Shaykh Hasan al-Maliki, clergyman, 31 years old, from al-Malikiyah.
2. Shaykh Ahmad al-'Uraybi, clergyman, 33, from al-Kurah.
3. 'Isa ash-Shariqi, teacher, 33, Jidd Hafs.
4. Hamid Mas'ud, government official, 30 Jidd Hafs.
5. 'Abd al-Husayn 'Ali.
6. Ahmad 'Abbas Khamis, teacher, 30, Sanabis.
7. 'Abd al-Husayn Ahmad Khadhim al-Mutghawi, government official, 27, ad-Diraz.
8. Sayyid Ni'mah al-Hashimi, civil engineer, 23, Manama.
9. 'Abd al-Jalil ash-Shufah, government official, al-Kurah.
10. Salih Muhdi Zayn ad-Din, teacher, 27, ad-Diraz.
11. Ja'far 'Ali Husayn technician, 25, ad-Diraz.
12. 'Ali Al-'Akri, government official, 27, ad-Diyah.
13. Husayn az-Zayir, government official, 21, Manama.
14. Sayyid Ahmad al-Kamil, government official, 28, al-Qadam.

Five: These arrests also included hundreds of citizens from various areas in Bahrain. The campaign concentrated in the following areas: Bani Jamrah; ad-Diyah; ad-Diraz; al-Kurah; Jidd Hafs; al-Malikiyah; al-Markh; Manama; Sanabis.

Six: Reports affirm that about 70 percent of those who were arrested were sent to the military hospital because they were subjected to barbaric torture and that many of the prisoners are still in very bad condition.

Seven: Following is a list of the methods of torture used by the regime against the people in the last campaign.

a. Beating on feet and toes until they become swollen and fractured. [Passage containing other methods of torture omitted]

Eight: At sunset on Thursday, 2 February 1984, the riot control police attacked one of the mosques in ad-Diraz and beat worshippers and insulted them and then they mounted their observations on Shaykh 'isa Qasim in front of the worshippers in the mosque. It should be noted that they withdrew the passport of Shaykh 'isa Qasim and prevented him from travelling.

Nine: More than four women believers were arrested and taken away from their houses at night. One of these women had four young children.

Ten: The Al Khalifah authorities expelled the French reporter Sufi Shahab, who was working at the AFP office in Bahrain, for fear that he would report on the events. The local information media in particular and the Gulf imperialist information media in general have provided a cover of legitimacy for the criminal acts perpetrated against the Muslim people and thus veiled the defects and ugly perpetrations.

The local newspapers highlighted the arrest of the faithful by giving the pretext that they foment unrest in the country and disturb security. The authorities gave themselves the absolute freedom to intercept any of the innocent. The imperialist papers and broadcasting stations--such as the Voice of America and the BBC in addition to the other [?agency] stations in the region--associated the mammoth arrests with the incidents in Kuwait. This is merely evidence of the imperialist plan which is designed to undermine Islam in the region and to liquidate the noble and free Muslims who defend their issue and their principles.

As we unveil before you the situation, we urge you to quickly interfere so as to rescue our people from the danger of slow death in and out of the prisons of Al Khalifah. All those who are forced into the Al Khalifah prisons will either be taken out dead or will contract a chronic disease.

We demand your interference in order to attain the following:

1. Ending the continuous arrests to which all the children of the people are subjected.
2. Releasing all the innocent detainees who have nothing to be blamed for but their religious doctrines.
3. Ending the torture perpetrated against the innocent.

4. Transferring those who are in danger to hospitals in Bahrain.
5. Supervision of the international organizations and the human rights organizations and ending the unjust and mock trials.
6. Ensuring visits by the international associations to the prisons in Bahrain and closely watching the situation.
7. Allowing the relatives of the detainees to visit them.
8. Allowing the lawyers who represent the international associations to defend the detainees.

In conclusion, we stress that the oppressive policy which is adopted by the authority--whose goals are to humiliate our people, and to quench the flame of freedom--will lead to a strong popular reaction so that the retaliation to this violence will be more strong than the violence perpetrated by the regime. The authority of Al Khalifah will be the only side responsible for that. Permission to fight is given to those against whom war is made because they have been wronged. Allah indeed has power to help them. [Koranic verse]

[Signed] The Islamic Front for the Liberation of Bahrain, 18 February 1984

CSO: 4604/20

## BRIEFS

BRITISH ROLE IN TUDEH ARRESTS--The Tudeh leftovers who are abroad stated that the plan to crush and disseminate the Tudeh Party was directly overseen and prepared by the British intelligence service and passed over to Khomeyni via Habib 'asgarowladi-Mosalman, who received it while on a trip in Pakistan. RAH-E TUDEH which has published this report added: The trip by Mullah Azari-Qomi to England was in continuation of the joint policy which has been taken up by London and Tehran to destroy the Tudeh Party. The Tudeh Party, which itself has constantly been a supporter of the crimes of Ruhollah Khomeyni, now reveals the links between the British intelligence service and the mullahs ruling Iran since the start of the revolution. The Tudeh Party has not explained why such traitorous ties were not revealed by them before the plan to crush the party leaders had gone into effect and why it constantly portrayed and praised the regime of Ruhollah Khomeyni as an anti-imperialist and pro-toilers regime. [Text] [GF191852 (Clandestine) Radio Iran in Persian 1330 GMT 19 Mar 84]

SPYING BY IRANIAN STUDENTS--A secret report from Ankara, capital of Turkey, says that two Iranian students of the Turkish Medical College, who are sons of Iranian Akhunds, have formally joined the Embassy of the Islamic Republic of Iran in Turkey. In lieu of wages they will spy on the students opposed to the regime and on the exiled Iranians in Turkey. National elements have reported on the basis of documentary evidence that these mercenaries, who are busy collecting information and identifying the students and the exiled Iranian refugees, get 120,000 Turkish liras from the consulate of the Islamic Republic and they have signed documents stating that they will carry out all the duties in connection with collection of information and identification of Iranian students. [Text] [GF181633 (Clandestine) Radio Iran in Persian 1330 GMT 18 Mar 84]

CSO: 4640/167

## PAKISTAN

### UNITED STATES SEEN AS UNRELIABLE ALLY

Lahore NAWA-I-WAQT in Urdu 3 Mar 84 p 12

Editorial: "Pakistan Will Have To Defend Itself"]

[Text] Dr Brzezinski, national security advisor to former U.S. President Jimmy Carter, has said that it is in Russia's interest to withdraw its forces from Afghanistan because the Afghan Mujahidin are determined to drive the Russian troops out of Afghanistan. Brzezinski was speaking at the Office of Strategic Affairs in Islamabad. He suggested that if Russia would agree to withdraw its forces from Afghanistan, their place could be taken by the troops of Muslim countries that are not regarded as antagonistic by Russia. He mentioned Syria and Algeria in particular in this connection.

Dr Brzezinski's entire argument is based on an "if"--if Russia should agree to withdraw its forces from Afghanistan. The real problem, however, is what will happen if Russia does not agree? One might even ask, for the sake of argument, whether the Afghan Mujahidin and people would be ready to accept Syrian forces in place of the Russians, because Syria is foremost among those few Muslim countries that, in the face of repeated demands from the Islamic Conference and from the Muslim world for the withdrawal of Russian troops from Afghanistan, have still maintained mental reservations in the matter. The important question here is, why did Brzezinski not suggest a UN peacekeeping force to bring about the withdrawal of Russian troops. The world has seen what happened in Lebanon where, in order to obtain an acceptable peace for Israel and to strengthen the Gemayal government, the United States stationed a multinational force with its allies Britain, France and Italy. Now that circumstances are forcing them to leave, an effort is underway to send a UN peacekeeping force to Lebanon. In order to find a peaceful solution to the Afghanistan problem, indirect negotiations have been in progress for the greater part of 3 years under the auspices of the United Nations. In spite of the obstacles being put in the path of a successful resolution by Soviet authorities, the negotiations have been called a step in the right direction. After all is said and done, the problem of whether Russia will agree to withdraw its troops from Afghanistan remains. Basic as the question is, it is difficult to find any clear answer to it.

The other problem mentioned by Dr Brzezinski in his talk concerns the 1959 defense pact under which the United States is obligated to come to Pakistan's

defense in case of communist aggression or aggression with communist help. Dr Brzezinski said that if Pakistan were to be attacked from the northwest, that is to say, if Russians occupying Afghanistan were to endanger Pakistan's freedom and integrity, the United States would come to Pakistan's aid. Dr Brzezinski is not alone in saying this; U.S. authorities have also made statements to the same effect. But if the United States should decide not to act according to the terms of the treaty, Pakistan cannot force it to do so. In answer to a question, Dr Brzezinski indicated an escape route for the United States out of its responsibility under the pact, namely, that if India attacked Pakistan, and even if it did so at Russian instigation and with Russian help, the United States would not help Pakistan. Dr Brzezinski even went so far as to say (speaking with perfect candor) that at the risk of offending Pakistan, he wanted to make it clear that in case of attack from the eastern border (India), the United States would not offer any help.

Whether or not Dr Brzezinski expects to be commended for his frankness, the fact is that during the September 1962 border clashes with China, the United States filled Indian arsenals with modern weapons, ignoring Pakistan's protests, and when 3 years later, in September 1965, India used these weapons for an aggressive attack on Pakistan, in spite of the SEATO and CENTO agreements (now defunct), the United States stopped all military aid as well as the sale of weapons and spare parts to Pakistan. After these events, Pakistan does not harbor any illusions that it will receive U.S. aid for its defense and security. When Dr Brzezinski declared that the United States would not help Pakistan in case of attack by India, he did not say anything new or unexpected as far as the people of Pakistan are concerned. Anyway, his frank statements should thoroughly open the eyes of the Pakistanis to the fact that they themselves will have to fight to defend the freedom and security of the country and will have to depend on their own strength and power.

9863

CSO: 4656/103



## INDIAN SIKH DESIGNS ON PUNJAB TERRITORY RIDICULED

Karachi AMN in Urdu 2 Feb 84 p 2

[Text] In 1945-46 when the British were holding talks with the leaders of India on the constitutional future of the country, the founder of Pakistan, Mohammad Ali Jinnah, offered Sikhs a possibility for a homeland either in Pakistan or separately. But the Sikhs turned it down due to the fact that Sikh leadership at that time regarded Sikhs close to Hindus politically and religiously. By that time, the Congress Party had realized the inevitability of Pakistan and it was determined to harm the new country. Therefore, it nudged the Sikhs very cleverly toward the partition of Punjab Province. Congress Party leaders succeeded in their designs, but Sikhs to this day regret the episode when their leader, Master Tara Singh, declared war on Muslims by waving a dagger on the steps of the Punjab legislature.

The partition of Punjab, which followed the partition of India, caused rivers of blood to flow. Time extracted from Muslims the price of Pakistan in the form of life, property and personal honor. Now time is extracting a high price from Sikhs for their political mistake. Now they are realizing that by siding with Hindus they committed a blunder. But how long they will have to pay the price for their follies, they do not yet know.

Usually we do not write much about Sikhs. The majority of them live in India and whatever decisions were taken by them, we presume, were taken with sound mind. And we do not wish to remember the atrocities that were perpetrated by them at the instigation of Hindus. Time is a great healer and the hatchet is best when allowed to remain buried. But now we are forced to write about them because they are beginning to look across the border to our homeland. The Gurdwara Prabhandak Committee is the religious organization of Sikhs. It is supposed to administer the Gurdwaras (temples) but in every period it has functioned as a political party. At one time, Master Tara Singh was a member and it was very powerful. It is no longer as powerful but its current president, a gentleman by the name of G. S. Tohra, announced that its militant wing--Akali Dal--is beginning a campaign to recover the area of Punjab now in Pakistan.

Perhaps Mr Tohra does not realize that today there is no longer British rule in the subcontinent and neither Akali Dal nor Shromani Gurdwara Prabhandak Committee has the status of a republic that it may recover Punjab areas from

Pakistan by launching military campaigns. Besides, have they asked the people of those areas what they would like.

Such a move on the part of Sikhs would have been plausible had they solved the problems already confronting them. But in the context of present conditions in East Punjab (Indian Punjab), only one conclusion can be deduced from voices being raised for such an action. The soul of Master Tara Singh has come back and has started to lead the Sikh people astray once again. The political mistake that Master Singh made in 1946 caused many problems. Many mistakes have been made since. Sikhs are now suffering as a result. If they want to commit one more mistake, that is their privilege. It will surprise no one, since Sikhs are notorious for doing the wrong thing at the wrong time. And the Muslims can at the most complain that these simpletons (Sikhs) have not really understood them.

During the British regime, a quarrel arose between Sikhs and Muslims regarding the Shahid Ganj Mosque. The court decided the case against the Muslims. After the creation of Pakistan, people tried to get this decision overturned by the newly installed Islamic regime. But the founder of Pakistan, Mr Jinnah, asked the people to refrain. The decisions by the judiciary should be respected no matter what, he argued. People listened to him.

There are now many holy Sikh places in Pakistan being managed by the Government of Pakistan. When Sikhs visit them they are duly impressed. Besides, they appreciate the hospitality of the people of Pakistan.

Whatever Sikhs may feel about the people of Pakistan, and whatever voice Mr Tohra may raise, we have a feeling of deja vu about it. Not to mention its being untimely.

9859

CSO: 4656/92

# ACTIONS OF BUREAUCRATS DETRIMENTAL TO INDUSTRY

Karachi AMN in Urdu 4 Feb 84 p 2

[Text] Four public-sector bread plants were built in Karachi so that people could get good, nutritious bread. Two of them, one in Site and the other in Korangi, have been closed down and their personnel have been absorbed in the North Karachi and Gulshan Iqbal plants. There are indications that they were closed down as a result of losses. While in operation, they produced 9,000 loaves daily. Now they are being rented out on the private sector for 15,000 rupees per month.

These plants were set up with great pomp and publicity. It was claimed that they would be a great success. But they closed down (two of them) shortly after they opened. Why? To understand this, we will have to take a good look at the industries operated in the public sector.

Whether they are nationalized industries or industries set up under the public sector, they do not run well because the bureaucrats appointed to run them don't know how. They are selected for the simple reason that their name happens to be at the top of the seniority list. Rather than use sound business techniques, they practice nepotism. This results in unnecessary expansion of personnel and inevitable losses. However, the industries that are profitable because of the demand for their product can never leave the clutches of these bureaucrats, whereas they immediately shuck the ones that lose money. They end up in the private sector through lease or sale.

The interesting thing is that these bureaucrats never admit their mistakes in such situations. Nor, ironically enough, are they taken to task for their incompetence.

Such industries, rather than being an asset to the nation, have become a burden. Another example is that of a butter factory in Punjab; 5,000 people have become jobless as a result of its closure. It is alleged that efforts are being made to sell these factories at ridiculous prices. And prospective buyers are alleged to be related to the bureaucrats who are responsible for them.

It is possible that losses are engineered in these factories so that they can be sold at reduced prices to relatives. Similarly, losses at the lucrative bread plant seem suspect. We think a high-level investigation is in order.

# ADMINISTRATIVE STRUCTURE CALLED INEFFICIENT, ON BRINK OF COLLAPSE

Lahore NAWA-I-WAQT in Urdu 2 Mar 84 p 3

[Article: "The Flatterers"]

[Excerpt] I have come to believe that our administrative structure is now on its last legs. Among the chief causes of its inefficiency are bribery, falsehood and injustice. When they read these lines, it is possible that people who are outside the government will feel pleased and say "that is exactly what we say." The fact is that even this reaction is a part of the general inefficiency in the country. People out of office are as responsible for this state of affairs as those in office. They should not feel pleased when government officers are criticized. As a matter of fact, it is the upper-class people of our country, whether they are in office or out, who are the most inefficient and mentally backward of all.

In our country, the managerial ability of officials has declined as money spent on the administration has increased. Now, spending on administrative matters and the incompetence of the officers has reached its limit. Take any administrative institution and you will find that the latest machinery has been imported. But the ability to protect the machines and their different parts, to provide the proper environment for their use and the training to use and supervise them is lacking. Nobody seems to know whether the machines have been bought too soon or too late. Have the machines been debased while passing through so much dishonesty, theft and malpractice? Are they still in their original shape, or have they been tampered with by those who received them first? Have the techniques necessary for working such equipment been learned?

We claim to have learned all about nuclear technology, but the electrical system in our buildings, streets, houses and factories is most defective, dangerous and outdated. The electric wires pass through waterpipes, and the waterpipes have been joined by the gutters. Telephone lines are tangled somewhere else. There are elevators, but their work and management are unsatisfactory. Even the automatic machines have been made subservient to the whims of the officials. Fans, air conditioners and even the central air conditioning system all work simultaneously. Broken gutters flood the roads. Expensive machinery is covered with dust, and nobody cares about the temperature at which such machines have to be stored. Railways are being

run on automatic lines, but nobody has the knowledge or experience necessary to run this system properly. In short, it is useless to go into details about all the carelessness, incompetence and inefficiency found in every department of the administration. The more you think of it the more ashamed you feel, and the more afraid you feel that something somewhere will soon come down with a crash.

At this moment, the laws of God and men are being ignored. How can we expect efficiency or regularity in any work? The only department that is active is that of Public Relations. This department helps the administration by announcing that all is well with the country. This has been happening for the last 22 years, and the people who have been given undeserved praise have come to believe in their own worth and the efficiency of their departments. That is why if a letter disclosing the true state of things is published, or a stray fact about reality comes to light, the Department of Public Relations gets into trouble. They try to find out how the news came to be known and how the letter got published. Who were the culprits that made the truth public. When they have been found, the administration begins its campaign against the guilty individual or department. The nation is suffering a loss of millions of rupees; but despite discontent at home and ridicule from abroad, the Department of Public Relations goes on with its shameful work of deception. When a tragedy occurs, it is soon forgotten, and the administration begins again, with a clean slate, its work of self-praise and self-deception. It is all a conspiracy of mutual flattery between the administration and the Department of Public Relations.

12476

CSO: 4656/102

## PAKISTAN

### NAWAB AKHBAR BUGTI INTERVIEWED ON ISSUE OF NATIONALISM

Lahore NAWA-I-WAQT in Urdu 3 Mar 84 p 12

[Interview with Nawab Akhbar Bugti, Baluchistan's former governor and tribal leader, by NAWA-I-WAQT special correspondent Yousuf Khan; place and date not specified]

[Excerpts] Nawab Akhbar Bugti, a tribal leader in Baluchistan, is a colorful and controversial personality who, like Pir Pagara, makes unusual and thought-provoking statements. Akhbar Bugti is noted for his tribal characteristic of forthrightness and candor. He is occupied with thoughts of the country's future but does not consider elections as the solution to the country's problems. He speaks openly and does not believe in off-the-record statements. During his conversation, which is neither of the ordinary kind nor easily understood, he maintained that he was certainly not an extremist but that if no attention was paid to his words, extremists would be emerging.

[Question] You often talk of giving rights to federal units; how is that possible?

[Answer] To give nationalities their rights on the basis of cultural and linguistic factors, the old federation must be altered and reorganized. Some say that doing so would create problems in federal units with mixed populations; but no such problems should arise. Forty-five percent of the population of Sind is believed to consist of immigrants; and the Baluch and Pathan inhabitants of Baluchistan are also cited as examples. But no state of confrontation exists there between the two groups; the Baluch live on their lands and the Pathans stay within their own boundaries. There is no cause for quarrel. We want all problems to be solved peacefully and in a friendly manner.

[Question] Baluch leaders have talked in the past about Greater Baluchistan. What are the facts?

[Answer] There was talk of a Greater Pakistan, too, and claims of raising the flag over the Red Fort in Delhi. Every one knows what came of it. That is why we ask for the rights of the units; otherwise, extremists will gain the upper hand.

We want the nationalities to run their domestic affairs without interference from any group. With the exception of defense, foreign affairs, currency and similar matters, all other affairs should be left to the units. But the issues can be negotiated.

All problems can be solved if sincerity and good intentions exist. But if problems are not solved in a friendly manner, then swords are drawn and the mountains become populated. It seems that over the last 37 years we have grown further apart rather than closer because the rights of the weak have been suppressed. We are ready to discuss this problem and that is why I have proposed a four-sided conference. I will go so far as to say that I would not object to sitting down with Tara Masih. Anyway, he is a powerful man who can put a noose around a politician's neck and transfer him from the Third World to the next world. What is really needed is to understand the problem and not have what happened to me during my visits to Lahore. The intellectuals and journalists of Lahore gather in the Hilton and we go over the problem in great detail. Then, while eating ice cream, a voice will ask from a corner of the room: "Tell us about the real problem in Baluchistan." I explain the problem at great length, when another voice asks: "What is the real story?" The fact is that you people do not want to understand the problem and I have no solution for that.

[Question] If the problems of the four units are solved, what will happen to those linguistic groups who occasionally raise their voices, such as the Saraiki, the Bahawalpuri immigrants and so forth.

[Answer] If these people can explain their side of their argument, their problem can also be solved. We will find out once the problem is raised. The Saraikis should voice their demands and ask for their rights. The immigrants do not fit the description of a nationality. They are still carrying the cultures of Delhi and Lucknow around with them. They will have to adopt the identity of the place where they now live. Nationalities can be defined as having their own language, their own culture, their own geographical identity and a historical background.

The immigrants do not fit this description. We want rights for every nationality, including the Punjabis, Sindhis, Baluchis and Pathans. If a rupee is to be divided, each of the four should get four annas, otherwise there will be trouble. Each unit should share equally in the national assembly, the army and the foreign service. We want our rights within Pakistan.

[Question] Would not this violate the principle of one man, one vote?

[Answer] Yes. Each unit can form an assembly of 100 to 1,000 members acting on the principle of one man, one vote. Relations will be based on equity within the federation; that is why we favor a loosely structured federation because this is the only way of saving Pakistan.

[Question] Is it not possible to do this through the democratic process?

[Answer] The problem involves the rights of nationalities, not democracy. The matter has gone beyond elections under the 1973 constitution. I do not think that there is any chance of elections being held. There will be elections, of course, which will be a fraud. Any election will have predetermined results. Such elections can be held at any time but the situation would only worsen. All appears dark at present and nothing is discernible. Such actions will only increase the darkness, not dispel it. Anyone moving around in a dark room searching for a light is bound to break things.

[Question] How would you compare the present government with the last one?

[Answer] How can a military government be compared to an elected civilian one? Even though Bhutto received a majority of the votes in only two provinces, Punjab and Sind, he at least represented the people to a certain extent.

[Question] Is a national consensus possible concerning the problems?

[Answer] I do not think so, because the situation in Sind is now such that though physically with us, it is no longer with us intellectually. Those who believe that the People's Party started the movement in Sind are mistaken. The movement was started by the people, who have not become intellectually separated from the national mainstream. The 1973 constitution offers no solution to the problem of self-determination. Baluchistan was not a party to its acceptance; hence, solid revisions have to be made. We placed these conditions before the MRD [Movement for the Restoration of Democracy]; they made no promises and we stayed away. Anyway, the MRD campaign offers nothing to Baluchistan. Its role has been to keep the issue of democracy alive in this country in one way or another.

The serious problems that exist today will not be solved with the announcement of elections. It is essential that the rights of nationalities be accepted and that they be given their rights, otherwise I am afraid that history will repeat itself. I remember that I was in Karachi when the 1971 war broke out. Yahyah Khan said at the time that the Bengalis are not mosquitoes. This will not work anymore. I am sure that General Zia will not repeat the mistakes of Yahyah and Bhutto. It is, however, more important to learn from mistakes than to avoid repeating them.

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